

THE QUMRAN *NEW JERUSALEM* TEXT:

CONTENTS AND CONTEXTS

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By

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates the Qumran *New Jerusalem* [*NJ*] text, which is partially preserved in seven fragmentary copies recovered from five Dead Sea caves. The *NJ* details the measurements of a magnificent, monumental city that is similar to the cities exhibited in other Second Temple writings. The principal contribution of this dissertation is its systematic examination of several aspects of this comparatively understudied and somewhat misunderstood text.

Chapter 1 presents the first working edition of the Cave 4 *NJ* fragments 4Q554, 4Q554a, and 4Q555. Such an edition is very much a desideratum.

Chapter 2 investigates the *NJ* as an important example of the “New Jerusalem” topos. It concentrates on the common themes of the topos, the ways in which its expressions may be categorized, and the stages of its historical evolution. In the light of the results of this investigation, we examine the genre of the *NJ* and the antecedents of its orthogonal city plan, and the question as to whether one can reconstruct the original order of the *NJ*.

In Chapter 3 challenges the prevailing scholarly opinion regarding the degree of correspondence between the *NJ* and other Dead Sea scrolls concerning their descriptions of architectural details and eschatological expectations. This chapter also contains the first

investigation of the points of contact between the *NJ* and the recently published texts 4Q391, 4Q462, 4Q475, 4Q537, and 4Q491.

In the Conclusion we suggest that the *NJ* is a response to the Antiochene crisis of the mid-second century BCE. The *NJ* describes an ideal end-time when Jerusalem would enjoy peace and strength, without enemies. Although it made no impact on the conceptions and expectations of the sectarians, the *NJ* would not have been out of place with respect to the general eschatological anticipations of the Qumran community.

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This dissertation would not have been completed without assistance from several persons. Above all, I must acknowledge Eileen SCHULLER, my doctoral advisor. Despite the demands made on her as chair, professor, and scholar, her time and advice were always available. Perhaps more than anything else, she has taught me the value of careful scholarship.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations of ancient texts and of serials and series follow those suggested by the *Journal of Biblical Literature*. For those serials and series not listed by the *JBL*, see the “List of Abbreviations. §III. Journals and Serials Cited” in L. DITOMMASO, *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research, 1850-1999* (JSPSup 39; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 33-82 at 42-81. In addition, the following titles have been abbreviated throughout this work:

BAILLET, DJD III

BAILLET, M. “Description de la Jérusalem nouvelle.” *Les ‘petites grottes’ de Qumrân. Exploration de la falaise. Les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q, à 10Q. Le rouleau de cuivre. DJD III*. Oxford, 1962. 84-89, pl. XVI.

BAILLET, “Fragments”

BAILLET, M. “Fragments araméens de Qumrân 2: Description de la Jérusalem nouvelle.” *RB* 62 (1955). 222-245.

BEYER, *ATTM 1 and 2*

BEYER, K. "J = 1Q32.2Q24.4Q.5Q15.11Q: Das himmlische Jerusalem." *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inscripten aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten*. Göttingen, 1984. 215-222.

----. "J = 1Q32.2Q24.4Q554.555.5Q15.11Q18: Das himmlische Jerusalem." *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inscripten aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten. Ergänzungsband*. Göttingen, 1994. 95-104.

BROSHI, "Architecture"

BROSHI, M. "Visionary Architecture and Town Planning in the Dead Sea Scrolls." *ErIsr* 23 (1992). 286-292. [in Modern Hebrew] [= *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness. Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989-1990*. Edd. D. DIMANT and L.H. SCHIFFMAN. STDJ 16. Leiden, 1995. 9-22] [page numbers to English version]

CHYUTIN, "Ideal City"

CHYUTIN, M. "The New Jerusalem: Ideal City." *DSD* 1 (1994). 71-97.

CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*

CHYUTIN, M. *The New Jerusalem Scroll: A Comprehensive Reconstruction*. JSPSup 25. Sheffield, 1997.

COOK, "Vision"

COOK, E.M. "A Vision of the New Jerusalem." In WISE, M.O., ABEGG, M. Jr., and COOK, E. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*. San Francisco, 1996. 181-184.

CT

Claremont Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center Transparency (of Palestinian Archaeological Museum photographs).

EISENMANN/WISE, *DSSU*

EISENMANN, R., and WISE, M. "The New Jerusalem (4Q554)." *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered*. New York, 1992. 39-46.

FITZMYER/HARRINGTON, *MPAT*

FITZMYER, J.A., and HARRINGTON, D.J. *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts (Second Century B.C. — Second Century A.D.)*. BibOr 34. Rome, 1978. 46-65, 198-199.

FREY, "Contexts"

FREY, J. "The New Jerusalem Text in Its Historical and Traditio-Historical Context." *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997*. Edd. L.H. SCHIFFMAN, *et alii*. Jerusalem, 2000. 800-816.

GAINES, "Eschatological Jerusalem"

GAINES, E.A. "The Eschatological Jerusalem: The Function of the Image in Biblical Literature." Diss: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1987.

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, *DSST*

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, F. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*. Trans. W.G.E. WATSON. Leiden/New York/Cologne, ²1996. 129-135.

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "Future Temple"

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, F. "La 'Nueva Jerusalem' y el templo futuro de los Mss. de Qumran." *Salvacion en la palabra. Targum - Derash - Berith. En memoria del profesor Alejandro Diez Macho*. Ed. D. MUÑOZ LEON. Madrid, 1986. 563-590. [revised = "The 'New Jerusalem' and the Future Temple of the Manuscripts from Qumran." *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran*. STDJ 9. Leiden, 1992. 180-213.] [page numbers to English version]

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "Last Surviving Columns"

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, F. "The Last Surviving Columns of 11QNJ." *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honour of A.S. van der Woude on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*. Edd. F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, A. HILHORST, and C.J. LABUSCHAGNE. VTSup 49. Leiden/New York/Köln, 1992. 178-192, pls. 3-9.

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "More Fragments"

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GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "New Jerusalem"

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, F. "New Jerusalem." Trans. A.E. ALVAREZ. *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edd. L.H. SCHIFFMAN and J.C. VANDERKAM. Oxford, 2000. 606-610.

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "Temple Scroll"

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, F. "The Temple Scroll and the New Jerusalem." *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment*. Edd. P.W. FLINT and J.C. VANDERKAM, with the Assistance of A.E. ALVAREZ. Leiden/Boston/Köln, 1999. 2.431-459.

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, F., TIGCHELAAR, E.S., and VAN DER WOUDE, A.S. "11QNew Jerusalem ar." *Qumran Cave 11, II. 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31*. DJD XXIII. Oxford, 1998. 305-355, pls. XXXV-XL.

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DSSSE

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, F., and TIGCHELAAR, E.S. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. Leiden/New York/Köln, 1997-1998.

LICHT, "Ideal"

LICHT, J. "An Ideal Town Plan from Qumran — The Description of the New Jerusalem." *IEJ* 29 (1979). 45-59.

MAIER, *TTMNJ*

MAIER, J. *Die Tempelrolle vom Toten Meer und das "Neue Jerusalem": 11Q19 und 11Q20; 1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q554-555, 5Q15 und 11Q18. Übersetzung und Erläuterung, mit Grundrissen der Tempelhofanlage und Skizzen zur Stadtplanung*. Uni-Taschenbücher 829. München/Basel, 1997.

MILIK, DJD I

MILIK, J.T. "Description de la Jérusalem nouvelle (?)." *Qumran Cave 1*. DJD I. Oxford, 1955. 134-135, pl. XXXI.

MILIK, DJD III

MILIK, J.T. "Description de la Jérusalem nouvelle." *Le 'petites grottes' de Qumrân. Exploration de la falaise. Les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q, à 10Q. Le rouleau de cuivre*. DJD III. Oxford, 1962. 184-193, pls. XL-XLI.

Preliminary Concordance

STRUGNELL, J. *A Preliminary Concordance to the Hebrew and Aramaic Fragments from Qumrân Caves II-X, Including Especially the Unpublished Material from Cave IV. Volume V: Aramaic Part.*

Based on work by R.E. BROWN, J.A. FITZMYER, W.G. OXTOBY, and J. TEIXIDOR. Prepared and Arranged by H.-P. RICHTER. Göttingen (privately printed), 1988.

PUECH, *La croyance*

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PUECH, É. "À propos de la Jérusalem nouvelle d'après les manuscrits de la Mer Morte." *Sem* 43-44

(1995). 87-102.

SÖLLNER, *Jerusalem*

SÖLLNER, P. *Jerusalem, die hochgebaute Stadt. Eschatologisches und himmlisches Jerusalem im Frühjudentum und im frühen Christentum.* TANZ 25. Tübingen, 1998.

STARKY, "Jérusalem"

STARCKY, J. "Jérusalem et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte." *Le monde de la Bible* 1 (Nov./Dec.

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WISE, "New Jerusalem Texts"

WISE, M.O. "New Jerusalem Texts." *Dictionary of New Testament Background.* Edd. C.A. EVANS and S.E. PORTER. Downers Grove, IL/Leicester, 2000. 742-745.

WISE, *Temple Scroll*

WISE, M.O. *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 49. Chicago, 1990. 64-86.

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Introduction

1. Brief Description of the Text

Among the hundreds of texts that have been recovered from the caves near the northwest shore of the Dead Sea, in a site not far from the ruins of Khirbet Qumran, there is a fascinating but fragmentary composition that scholars have labeled the “New Jerusalem Text” or the “Description of the New Jerusalem” — *NJ* for short.¹ The description is particularly apt, since much of the *NJ* details the precise measurements of the architecture and structures of an ideal eschatological city that in many ways is like the New Jerusalems exhibited in Ezekiel 40-48, Revelation 21-22, and several other writings of the Second Temple period. Like the cities portrayed in these writings, the city of the *NJ* is gigantic: its rectangular-shaped perimeter, for example, is circumscribed by monumental walls that are tens of kilometers long and that contain imposing gates which are named after the twelve sons of the patriarch Jacob.

The eschatological city of the *NJ* is also exceedingly beautiful, with walls of gold and gates of sapphire. Inside the massive walls of the city are blocks upon blocks of identical houses and rows of streets that are arranged in an orthogonal pattern, and also a New

¹ For a discussion of the name “New Jerusalem” in general, see Chapter 2, §1, c. On the topic of Qumran and the *NJ*, see Chapter 3, *passim*, and the Conclusion.

Temple. Certain fragments of the *NJ* also describe a number of aspects of the Temple complex and its operation, including its material objects and several details about the offerings and rituals that are to be carried out in the complex.

Finally, the *NJ* preserves a small section of text that most scholars argue preserves the remains of a description of an eschatological battle.² Whether this interpretation is correct is matter to be determined later, but what is clear is that this section of text contains the names of several nations and peoples that in the biblical and extra-biblical traditions are traditionally hostile to Israel.

2. *Manuscript Evidence*

The *NJ*, of which no portion survives anywhere else but in the copies from the Dead Sea, is preserved in seven copies, fragments of which have been discovered in Qumran Caves 1, 2, 4, 5, and 11. The official *sigla* of these seven copies are 1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q554, 4Q554a, 4Q555, 5Q15, and 11Q18.³ One of the many interesting aspects about the *NJ* is that it is composed in Aramaic and not in Hebrew,⁴ the language in which the vast majority of

² See the discussion in Chapter 3, §3.

³ The Cave 11 copy was apparently a complete or partially-complete scroll at its time of discovery, but the ensuing efforts to preserve the scroll intact failed, and this copy presently exists solely in fragmentary form. For details, see GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII, 305.

⁴ The view that a Hebrew copy of the *NJ* is extant among the Dead Sea fragments has circulated for the past few decades (see, *inter alia*, WISE, *Temple Scroll*, 85, note 87). In some cases the text cited was the phantom text 4Q232, while other times scholars were referring to fragments from what would later be called the *Reworked Pentateuch*, a text extant in several copies from Qumran. On the complicated history of identifying the nature of these fragments from the *Reworked Pentateuch* and determining their relationship to the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*, see Chapter 3, §2, a.

Regarding the theory that 4Q232 might be a Hebrew copy of the *NJ*, the possibility was first raised by MILIK, who mentions in passing the existence of 4Q232, a “tiny fragment” that provides “a Hebrew version of the Aramaic work ... [the] *Description of the New Jerusalem*” (*The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford, 1976), 59). MILIK never explained himself further, however, and no PAM

the other texts recovered at Qumran were written.⁵ For one thing, this probably means that, despite the fact that the *NJ* is only known to us from the Qumran caves, the *NJ* was probably not a product of the Qumran community, since the Aramaic texts found at Qumran appear to lack the distinctive sectarian terminology.⁶ All seven Aramaic copies of the *NJ* have been dated palaeographically to the Herodian period,⁷ that is, from the second half of the first

photograph of 4Q232 seems to exist. In their *Study Edition*, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and TIGCHELAAR state that “[4Q232 is the] old number and title of 4Q365a,” (484) although this statement is difficult to reconcile with MILIK’S observation, since 4Q365a 2 i-ii is anything but a “tiny fragment.” See also FREY, “Contexts,” 801, note 1, who writes of 4Q232 that “there is only one small fragment of the manuscript.”

Most recently, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ mentions that he has re-checked the unidentified fragments registered in the *Preliminary Concordance* as having been assigned to MILIK and has found there no evidence of a Hebrew *NJ* fragment. He also notes, however, that upon examination of miscellaneous fragments not part of MILIK’S lot, he has discovered a “small fragment” in Hebrew in the lower left quadrant of PAM 43.368 that might be associated with *NJ* and which may be the “tiny fragment” that MILIK identified as 4Q232. At the same time, he notes that a different and palaeographically preferable reading of the text of the fragment would “eliminate a connection to the *New Jerusalem*” (“Temple Scroll,” 445-446, note 27).

For the present, therefore, the material evidence suggests that i) 4Q232 as a Hebrew copy of the *NJ* has not yet been confirmed; ii) the fragments from the *Reworked Pentateuch*, while potentially important to the study of *NJ*, are not a copy or a paraphrase of it; and iii) GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ is correct in asserting that the existence of the *NJ* in Hebrew is “unproven thus far” (“Temple Scroll,” 446, note 27).

⁵ There are 812 separate manuscripts that have been assigned a unique numeric *siglum* (see the “Index of Manuscripts” in GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, 1313-1325), to which must be added a few texts (like 1QpHab) that do not have a numerical *siglum*. H. STEGEMANN writes, “In all the Qumran caves together, nearly 900 different scroll and other manuscript documents, or their remnants, have been found” (*The Library of Qumran. On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Grand Rapids/ Cambridge, 1998 [German orig. 1993]), 6). Of these many manuscripts, there are over 100 Aramaic manuscripts (E.M. COOK, “The Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment* (edd. P.W. FLINT and J.C. VANDERKAM, with the Assistance of A.E. ALVAREZ; Leiden/Boston/Köln, 1999), 1.359-378 at 359). Therefore, there is one Aramaic Qumran manuscript extant for every eight or nine Hebrew manuscripts.

⁶ On the view that Qumran Aramaic texts are not sectarian creations, see, e.g., J.A. FITZMYER, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins: General Methodological Considerations,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Faith. In Celebration of the Jubilee Year of the Discovery of Qumran Cave 1* (edd. J.H. CHARLESWORTH and W.P. WEAVER; Harrisburg, PA, 1998, 1-19) [= *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (SDSSRL; Cambridge/Grand Rapids, 2000), 1-16 at 8]. On the question whether the *NJ* can be called a sectarian text, and also on the issue of its place in and importance to the community, see the Conclusion.

⁷ 1QNJ: an early Herodian script dating from the latter half of the first century BCE (GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” 2.446); 2QNJ: the late Herodian period (BAILLET, “Fragments,” 245), but somewhat limited more precisely to the early decades of the first century in BAILLET, DJD III, 84; 4Q554, 4Q554a, and 4Q555: early Herodian (PUECH, *La croyance*, 591); 5QNJ: MILIK classifies the language as “[une] belle écriture ‘hérodienne,’ comparable à celle des 1QIs^b, 1QH (première main), 1QM, 1Q‘Genesis Apocryphon’” (MILIK, DJD III, 184); 11QNJ: either the early part of the Herodian period, its script

century BCE to the first half of the first century CE, although this is not necessarily the period in which the text was actually composed. The Aramaic in which the *NJ* is written is “Middle Aramaic,” specifically “Palestinian” or Judaeen” Aramaic.⁸ There are only a few Hebraisms in the text,⁹ and so even if in the future a Hebrew copy of the *NJ* surfaces, the chances are that it will prove to be a translation from the Aramaic rather than the source from which the extant Aramaic copies stemmed.¹⁰

Given the extremely fragmentary state of the seven copies, it is quite fortunate that overlaps in the text exist to one degree or another among all the copies with the exception of 1Q32 and 4Q555 (and both of these two copies are no more than a collection of tiny fragments). Table I describes the extent to which the *NJ* copies overlap:¹¹

corresponding to the “round semi-formal” type isolated by F.M. CROSS (GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII, 309) or the later part (PUECH, *La croyance*, 591); note also that GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR observe that “most letters [of 11Q18] are virtually identical to those of 4QMMT^d (4Q397).” GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ calls the script type “late Herodian” in his “Temple Scroll,” 449.

⁸ MILIK, DJD III, 184. FITZMYER identifies Qumran Aramaic as “Middle Aramaic” in his five-fold division of the Aramaic language (on his classification in general, see “The Phases of the Aramaic Language,” *A Wandering Aramean. Collected Aramaic Essays* (Missoula, 1979), 57-84. For the most recent survey of the Aramaic of the Qumran texts, see COOK, “Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls”; *n.b.* a correction: ךַּתְּבָב, which COOK cites as an example of an *aleph* representing a long /a/ after a consonant other than *vav* or *yod*, is found at 5Q15 1 ii 6 rather than the “4QJN^a ar (554 1 6) 1 ii 6” that he indicates (362).

⁹ MILIK, DJD III, 88; FREY, “Contexts,” 808, note 43.

¹⁰ As for the original language of composition, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ opines, “nothing in the Aramaic text indicates that we are dealing with a composition translated from a Hebrew original” (“Future Temple,” 193, n. 42).

¹¹ The information in Table I is not always reflected in the work of other scholars. The numbering of the columns and line numbers, especially of the 4Q fragments, varies from study to study. In addition, some scholars have proposed other overlaps among the fragments or, more commonly, understand certain of the overlaps listed in Table I to extend beyond the extent that we have indicated. All these issues are addressed in the working edition of the 4Q*NJ* fragments in Chapter 1. Note also that the overlaps indicated in Table I are not *perfect* overlaps; the copies of the *NJ* are very lacunal, and no attempt is made in Table I to indicate the extent to which the text in a specific line in one copy is overlapped by a specific line in another copy.

Table I. Overlapping Text among the Copies of the *NJ*

2Q24 1 1-4 = 4Q554 1 ii 12-15 = 5Q15 1 i 1-2	5Q15 1 i 1-2 = 2Q24 1 1-4
2Q24 4 9-16 = 11Q18 20 2-3, 4-7	5Q15 1 i 1-6 = 4Q554 1 ii 12-22
	5Q15 1 i 15 - ii 4 = 4Q554 1 iii 12-22
4Q554 1 ii 12-15 = 2Q24 1 1-4	5Q15 1 ii 4-9 = 4Q554a 1-6
4Q554 1 ii 12-22 = 5Q15 1 i 1-6	
4Q554 1 iii 12-22 = 5Q15 1 i 15 - ii 4	11Q18 20 2-3, 4-7 = 2Q24 4 9-16
4Q554 1 iii 22 = 4Q554a line 1	
4Q554a line 1 = 4Q554 1 iii 22	
4Q554a lines 1-6 = 5Q15 1 ii 4-9	

The longest section of overlapping text includes, with lacunae, 2Q24 1 1-4, 4Q554 1 ii 12 - iii 22, 4Q554a 1-6, and 5Q15 1 i 1-6, i 15 - ii 9. This is an extremely important series of overlaps, since not only does it help us reconstruct a comparatively long and fairly unbroken section of the *NJ* but it also confirms that 2Q24, 4Q554, 4Q554a, and 5Q15 are all copies of the same composition. The overlap between 2Q24 4 and 11Q18 20 confirms 11Q18 as another copy of the *NJ*. This, too, is an important overlap, since the majority of the 11Q18 fragments are devoted to a description of the New Temple complex and its operation.

3. *Publication History*

The process of the publication of the seven copies of the *NJ* has been very uneven, which has hindered scholars from gaining a full appreciation of the text until recently. On the one hand, 1Q32, 2Q24, and 5Q15 were presented to the scholarly world shortly after their discovery, published in the official series 'Discoveries in the Judean Desert' [henceforth DJD] in the period from 1955 to 1962. These fine *editiones principes* formed the

basis for all subsequent studies on and presentations of these fragments. On the other hand, preliminary editions of the 11Q18 fragments did not appear until the 1980s and, following a series of articles by F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ in the 1990s,¹² it was not until 1998 that 11Q18 appeared in the DJD series.¹³ As for the three Cave 4 *NJ* copies, these have yet to see print in the DJD.¹⁴ The only substantial presentations of the text of these Cave 4 copies remain the few reconstructions of all or portions of the *NJ*¹⁵ and in GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and E.J.C. TIGCHELAAR'S *Study Edition* of the Dead Sea texts.¹⁶ Indeed, because of delays in publication, only the more recent editions of the standard translations of the Scrolls will contain anything approaching the full text of the Cave 4 fragments.¹⁷ Accordingly, the 4Q*NJ* fragments demand a far more detailed discussion, especially regarding the gross and fine details of previous reconstructions and editions, the identification and placement of the fragments themselves, and the problems associated with their substantial overlaps with other copies.

¹² GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "Last Surviving Columns"; *idem*, "More Fragments."

¹³ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII.

¹⁴ The fragments will be edited in the DJD series by É. PUECH. The *NJ* will also be part of J.H. CHARLESWORTH'S collection of Dead Sea texts (*The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translation*), where they will be edited by A. YARBRO COLLINS [private conversations with CHARLESWORTH and YARBRO COLLINS].

¹⁵ EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*; CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*; BEYER, *ATM 1 and 2*. On the correlation between BEYER'S "J" *siglum* (*i.e.*, the *siglum* by which he labels the *NJ* fragments) and the official *sigla*, see note 25, below.

¹⁶ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, 1.110-113 [1Q32 1], 1.218-221 [2Q24 1, 3, 4, 8], 2.1106-1113 [4Q554 1, 2, 4Q554a, 4Q555 2, 3], 2.1136-1141 [5Q15 1, 2], 2.1220-1227 [11Q18 6-22, 24-30, 32].

¹⁷ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, *DSSE*, 129-135; COOK, *DSSNT*, 180-184; MAIER, *TTMNJ*; VERMES, *DSSE*, 568-570.

a. 1Q32¹⁸

The DJD edition of 1Q32 was published by J.T. MILIK in 1955.¹⁹ He identified twenty-three very small fragments, some containing no more than a few traces of individual letters. This fact, coupled with the uncertainty that the fragments even derive from the same section of the *NJ*, makes it very difficult to identify the precise topic with which they are concerned.²⁰ That these fragments are from a copy of the *NJ* is fairly certain, however; MILIK identifies them as such by comparison with the copies from Caves 2, 4, and 5,²¹ and the terminology of fragments 1-7 is almost exclusively architectural.²²

Only a few attempts have been made either to situate the fragments with respect to the preserved text of the other copies or to reconstruct their sequence. Y. YADIN recreates a section of the text using 1Q32 1, 5, and 14,²³ but F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ has since proven YADIN'S attempt to be materially untenable.²⁴ M. CHYUTIN attempts to reconstitute a portion of a column solely on the basis of nine 1QNJ fragments, but his results are extremely

¹⁸ PAM 40.445, 40.478, 40.480, 40.503, 40.516, 40.553, 40.535, 40.538, 40.542, and 40.548.

¹⁹ MILIK, DJD I, 134-135, pl. XXXI.

²⁰ MILIK remarks that "ce groupe de fragments n'est pas très homogène" (DJD I, 134). But note GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ' view that 1Q32 14 exhibits several differences from 1Q32 1 and 2, including its physical appearance and the characteristics of the preserved text ("Temple Scroll," 446 and 446, note 30).

²¹ MILIK, DJD I, 134.

²² GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ observes that all the words in these first seven fragments correspond to words found in other copies of the *NJ* ("Temple Scroll," 446).

²³ *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem, 1983), 1.235. On the problems associated with 1Q32 14, see Chapter 3, §2, b.

²⁴ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "Future Temple," 181-182, n. 7; *idem*, "Temple Scroll," 446, note 30, where he questions whether fragment 14 is actually part of 1Q32. On the ramifications of this, see Chapter 3, §2, b and §4, a, regarding the connexion between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*.

speculative.²⁵

b. 2Q24²⁶

In 1962 M. BAILLET and MILIK presented the official editions of 2Q24 and 5Q15 in DJD III.²⁷ 2Q24 encompasses eleven fragments, ten of which preserve anything from two to a dozen or more words, and 2Q24 4, which preserves incompletely twenty lines of text.²⁸

²⁵ CHYUTIN's column 7, lines 10-17 (*NJ Scroll*, 17-18), on which see the comments in Chapter 3, §2, b. On the extremely serious difficulties with the methodology and results of CHYUTIN's reconstruction in general, see E.J.C. TIGCHELAAR's review in *RevQ* 18 (1998), 453-457, L.T. STUCKENBRUCK's review in *JTS* 50 (1999), 658-664, and the comments in Chapter 1, *passim*.

K. BEYER (*ATTM* 1 and 2) displays a selection of 1QNJ fragments along with other small fragments from 2QNJ and 5QNJ in a section bearing his siglum J 5, 1-26 and titled "Isolierte Fragmente über Stadt und Tempel." Although these 1Q, 2Q, and 5Q fragments are presented in a continuous format in numbered lines and even though BEYER has obviously selected the order in which they appear, there is no sense that BEYER is attempting to reconstruct the text at this point on the basis of these 1Q fragments. Rather, his title indicates that he is merely grouping together fragments from various copies that appear to share the same subject matter. Indeed, the only place where there is any degree of running text is J 5, 21-24, and these lines correspond to 2Q rather than 1Q fragments.

Incidentally, as far as it can be determined, "J" appears in the context of the *NJ* fragments because BEYER allocates certain appropriate letters of the alphabet to the texts in his collection. He has assigned the letter "J" (for "Jerusalem") to the *NJ*, and thus all the *NJ* fragments are so prefixed. The numbers following the letter "J" indicate the position of each fragment relative to the text as a whole. The fragments labeled by BEYER under his "J" *sigla* correspond to the following fragments:

- J 1 to J 4 correspond to the fragments 4Q554 1 i-iii, 2 i-iii, 4Q554a and any overlapping text, most importantly 5Q15 1 i-ii
- J 5 1-26 is the collection of 1Q, 2Q, and 5Q fragments discussed above, with the rest of the J 5 fragments according with other 4Q554 fragments
- J 6 1-20 equals 2Q24 4 + 11Q18 20, while the rest of the J 6 material corresponds with 4Q555
- J 7 fragments accord with the 11Q fragments known to that point.

The basic schema by which he situates the various fragments is the understanding (which is shared by the majority of scholars) that the description of the city proceeds from the "outside in."

²⁶ PAM 40.553, 40.555, 40.558, 43.755, 43.948.

²⁷ 2Q24: BAILLET, DJD III, 84-89, pl. XVI. Preliminary publication: BAILLET, "Fragments," 222-245 (reproduced in J.J. KOOPMANS, *Aramäische Chrestomathie. Ausgewählte Texte (Inschriften, Ostraka und Papyri) bis zum 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Leiden, 1962), 1.53-54, 194-197). 5Q15: MILIK, DJD III, 184-193, pls. XL-XLI.

²⁸ The numbers and joinings presented in the preliminary edition differed somewhat from those of the DJD edition: fr. 1 in the preliminary edition = what would become 2Q24 4 in the DJD edition; fr. 2 = 2Q24 7; fr. 3 = 2Q24 5; fr. 4 = 2Q24 6; fr. 5 = 2Q24 3, fr. 8 = 2Q24 8, and fr. 6, 7, and 9, which, with the addition of a small piece placed near the right margin of line 2, would be fitted together to form 2Q24 1.

The majority of the fragments exhibit the one characteristic that is common to all the *NJ* copies: a detailed description of various architectural phenomena associated with cities and their structures, wherein the dimensions of these structures are measured and where these measurements are recorded in precise units. The notable exception to this characterization is the larger fragment 2Q24 4, which appears to contain a description of the nature and distribution of the shewbread.²⁹ 2Q24 is specially important for the study of the *NJ* as a whole because of the overlap of 2Q24 4 and 11Q18 20, and especially the extremely fortuitous three-fold overlap of 2Q24 1 with portions of 4Q554 1 ii and 5Q15 1 i.

c. 5Q15³⁰

5Q15 consists of twenty-one separate fragments or collections of fragments. 5Q15 fragments 2-21 each contain no more than a few words or phrases. The striking exception is the arrangement of fragments labeled 5Q15 1, which, despite its state of severe disrepair,³¹ provides significant portions from two columns of text that overlaps imperfectly text from both 2Q24 and the 4*QNJ* fragments. The 4*QNJ* overlaps, which BAILLET employed to

There are distinct stages in the evolution of 2Q24 8. The main piece appears alone in PAM 40.558, the photo that contains, with the exception of two small scraps that were not included, all the fragments that BAILLET presents in his 1956 preliminary study. A second piece was then added to the extreme left edge of this main piece ("Fragments," pl. III, fr. 8). Finally, a third and even smaller piece was added to the lower right edge of the first addition (see DJD III, pl. XVI).

²⁹ So identified by BAILLET, "Fragments," 227-237 and subsequent studies.

³⁰ PAM 41.033, 41.034, 41.035, 41.037, 42.320, 42.323. For a more specific identification of the fragments and the PAM photographs in which they appear, see Chapter 1, note 76.

³¹ MILIK'S reconstruction of the two columns of 5Q15 1 involved his working with very fragmentary evidence (at least two dozen separate fragments of varying sizes) and represents a triumph of the art of fragment identification and manuscript assembly.

reconstruct a portion of 2Q24 1 and MILIK used to restore entire sections of both columns of 5Q15 1, will be examined in greater detail in the next chapter.³²

All the 5Q15 fragments are concerned with the description and measurements of architectural phenomena. Some, like 5Q15 2, appear to be part of the presentation of a house and its features and possibly could have derived from the same section of the text as that preserved in 4Q554a 3-13 and 5Q15 1 ii 6-15. Other fragments, like 5Q15 3, which mentions “gates,” contain text that is appropriate to the larger structures. Nothing from 5Q15 appears to be related to either the eschatological material of 4Q554 2 iii or the description of the Temple as witnessed in 2Q24 4 and most of the 11Q fragments.³³

With the exception of the Cave 4 material used to reconstruct sections of 2Q24 and 5Q15 in DJD III, J. STARCKY’S brief article on certain aspects of the architectural data of 4Q554 1,³⁴ and B. JONGELING’S preliminary publication of 11Q18 20,³⁵ the fragments from the copies 1Q32, 2Q24, and 5Q15 represented the full extent of the *NJ* known to scholarship

³² The 4Q text was employed throughout with little critical comment, very few references to *sigla* and other means of identification, and no photographs of the fragments themselves.

³³ The publication of DJD III occasioned two substantial reviews, each of which made significant contributions to the study of 2Q^{NJ} and 5Q^{NJ}, especially regarding the identification and evaluation of certain architectural terminology. See R. MEYER, “Der gegenwärtige Stand der Erforschung der in Palästina neu gefundenen hebräischen Handschriften: 48. Die sogenannten ‘kleinen Höhlen’ von Qumran,” *TLZ* 90 (1965), cols. 331-342 at 339-340, and J.C. GREENFIELD, “The Small Caves of Qumran,” *JAOS* 89 (1969). 128-141 at 130, 132-135. GREENFIELD’S review-essay is perhaps the more important of the two, as it also addresses the question of genre and various critical matters regarding the language of the text.

On 5Q^{NJ}, note also J. BERNHARDT’S unpublished dissertation, “Die kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Qumran-Fragments 5Q15,” (Diss: Jena, 1970) [*non vidi*], and the comments on this dissertation by FREY, “Contexts,” 801-802, note 6.

³⁴ STARCKY, “Jérusalem.” This short essay contains a superb photograph of 4Q554 1 ii on page 38.

³⁵ “Publication provisoire d’un fragment provenant de la grotte 11 de Qumrân (11Q Jér Nouv^{AR}),” *JSJ* 1 (1970), 56-64, 185-186. The fragment is referred to as “fragment 14.”

for a generation.³⁶ The same range of fragments is witnessed in J.A. FITZMYER and D.J. HARRINGTON'S 1978 anthology of Aramaic writings³⁷ and in the 1984 edition of K. BEYER'S magisterial compendium of Qumran Aramaic texts,³⁸ and they underlie M.O. WISE'S arrangement of the order of the *NJ* fragments in his 1990 monograph on the *Temple Scroll*.³⁹

d. 11Q18⁴⁰

The existence of a Cave 11 copy of the *NJ* was mentioned by MILIK in DJD III,⁴¹ and we have already observed that in 1970 one of the fragments, 11Q18 20, was published in preliminary form by JONGELING.⁴² In 1985 J.P.M. VANDER PLOEG offered a brief description of the almost completely petrified scroll, observing that from "une protubérance non pétrifiée ... j'ai obtenu 26 fragments, correspondant à 25 circonvolutions du rouleau et quelques fragments plus petits."⁴³ But this description is at odds with the material remains, which when studied afresh by GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ in 1992 revealed that one of the large fragments

³⁶ See, e.g., S. FUJITA, "The Book of Ezekiel and the Fragments of the 'New Jerusalem'," in "The Temple Theology of the Qumran Sect and the Book of Ezekiel: Their Relationship to Jewish Literature of the Last Two Centuries B.C." (Diss: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1970), 306-315.

³⁷ FITZMYER/HARRINGTON, *MPAT*, 46-65, 198-199. Their translation was largely reproduced in M. CHYUTIN'S 1994 article-length study (CHYUTIN, "Ideal City").

³⁸ BEYER, *ATTM*, 1.215-222.

³⁹ WISE, *Temple Scroll*, 64-86.

⁴⁰ PAM 43.981, 43.993-44.002, 44.007-44.009; IAA 342924, 508044.

⁴¹ MILIK, DJD III, 186.

⁴² See note 35, above.

⁴³ "Les manuscrits de la grotte XI de Qumrân," *RevQ* 12 (1985-1987), 1-15 at 13-14 (the quotation is from p. 14). Note also his "P.-S. 2" on p. 15.

had at least three further layers of skin attached, each layer having three to five lines of text.⁴⁴ It was in this 1992 preliminary edition, too, that GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ attempted to arrange some of the 11Q18 fragments according to columns, a process that in five of the nine cases involved reconstructing the column on the basis of two or more fragments.⁴⁵ M. KISTER has since demonstrated, however, that the fragments that form columns II, III, and IV in GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ' preliminary reconstruction do not belong together but rather should be interpreted individually.⁴⁶ The full text of 11Q18 was finally published by GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and TIGCHELAAR in DJD XXIII in 1998, and here its editors — after much study — abandoned any attempt to arrange all the fragments in their original order.⁴⁷

Thirty-seven fragments of 11Q18 are extant, the majority of which preserves portions from five to eight lines of text. Of the fragments containing more than a few letters or words, it appears that all contain descriptions of the architectural details or cultic operations of the Temple, which is mentioned at fr. 19 1 and 3, fr. 20 2, fr. 31 ii 6, fr. 32 3 and 6 (היכלא) and likely also at fr. 9 6 (מקדש).⁴⁸

⁴⁴ PAM 43.993. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "Last Surviving Columns," 178-192 at 181-182. See also GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII, 307, where it is demonstrated that the order of the fragments in the PAM photographs is not consistent with what would be derived from consecutive revolutions of a scroll: "It is possible that at least some of the fragments were arranged by shape, rather than according to their original order."

⁴⁵ Column I = what would in DJD XXIII be labeled 11Q18 10 ii; col. II = 11Q18 10 i + 11 + 12 ii; col. III = 11Q18 12 i + 13; col. IV = 11Q18 14 ii + 15; col. V = 11Q18 18; col. VI = 11Q18 17; col. VII = 11Q18 17 i + 20; col. VIII = 11Q18 19; and col. X = 11Q18 9 + 21.

⁴⁶ "Notes on Some New Texts from Qumran," *JJS* 44 (1993), 282-286.

⁴⁷ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII, 305-355, esp. 307-308 (see also GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "More Fragments"). Note that they have determined the correct order of 11Q18 3-10 and that 11Q18 11-13 should follow, although "frgs. 11-13 cannot be placed in a logical order."

⁴⁸ Note also מִקְדָּשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל of 11Q18 15 5.

e. 4Q554, 4Q554a, and 4Q555⁴⁹

Of all the *NJ* copies, the Cave 4 fragments have proven the most difficult to identify and characterize, and not only because they have yet to be presented in an official DJD edition. In Chapter 1 a complete description of the Cave 4 fragments will be presented.

In 1955, MILIK observed that the 1Q32 fragments were part of a text that had survived in fragments from other caves, including two copies from Cave 4,⁵⁰ and in a 1956 report STARCKY confirmed the existence of several Cave 4 fragments that described the dimensions of the New Jerusalem.⁵¹ It has been observed already that portions of 4Q*NJ* were employed in DJD III to assist in reconstructing 2Q24 1 and 5Q15 1 i-ii and that in 1977 STARCKY published a brief essay on the dimensions of the New Jerusalem as envisioned in *NJ*.⁵² To one extent or another, this material and the equally limited descriptions of the extent of 4Q*NJ* were used in K. BEYER'S first edition, in M.O. WISE'S aforementioned volume on the *Temple Scroll*, and in J. LICHT'S 1979 article on the dimensions of the *NJ* city and their significance.⁵³

The first major presentation of 4Q*NJ* came only in 1992 with the publication of R.

⁴⁹ On the PAM photographs in which the various 4Q copies appear, and a description of the fragments as they appear therein, see the discussion in Chapter 1, §2.

⁵⁰ MILIK, DJD I, 134.

⁵¹ J. STARCKY, in P. BENOIT, *et alii*, "Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân," *RB* 63 (1956), 49-67 at 66 [Eng. trans = J.L. MOREAU, "Editing the Manuscript Fragments from Qumran," *BA* 19 (1956), 75-96 at 94-96]. According to STARCKY, "Plusieurs pièces assez considérables donnent les mensurations de la *Jérusalem Nouvelle*: peut-être la même apocalypse que celle identifiée par M. Baillet dans la Grotte 2."

⁵² STARCKY, "Jérusalem," 38-40 at 38.

⁵³ LICHT, "Ideal." Text, translation, and commentary of 5Q15 1 i-ii 5, with 4Q*NJ* material filling in some gaps at the beginning, *apud* MILIK'S presentation in DJD III.

EISENMAN and WISE's controversial anthology, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered*. Here the authors presented what they understood to be 4Q554 in seven columns, with some of the lacunae in the text bridged by material from the overlapping 5Q15 1 i-ii.⁵⁴ Subsequent editions of 4Q554 include BEYER'S 1992 updating of his Aramaic anthology⁵⁵ and CHYUTIN'S 1997 monograph, wherein the author attempts to reconstruct the entire *NJ* scroll on the basis of virtually all the fragments, including what he identifies as 4Q554 and 4Q555.⁵⁶

In 1995, however, É. PUECH published an influential article that, among other things, stated without detailed explanation that one of the large 4Q554 fragments was in fact from a separate copy, 4Q554a.⁵⁷ Subsequent reconstructions, editions, and translations of the *NJ* have sometimes, but not always, reflected the separation of 4Q554 and 4Q554a.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ EISENMAN/WISE, *DDSU*, 39-46 [= *Jesus und die Urchristen*. Trans. P. DAVIES and B. MÄNZ-DAVIES. München, 1992. 45-52, pl. 3]. The text was based in part on R. EISENMAN and J.M. ROBINSON, *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols.; Washington, 1991), nos. 521, 1512, and 1536. In *DSSU* they also presented a fragment that they termed "4Q555" (= what is now generally called "4Q554a").

⁵⁵ *ATTM*, 95-104.

⁵⁶ CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*. See above, note 25, for notices of the reviews of this book.

⁵⁷ PUECH, "JN," 87-102. He first noted the existence of the three 4QNJ copies in *La croyance*, 591. PUECH does not reveal which of his *sigla* correspond to which fragment, but a process of elimination reveals the following: 4QJNa^a 1 = (?) 4Q554 3 (= BEYER J 5, 30); 4QJNa^a 2 = 4Q554 1 in GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*; 4QJNa^a 3 = 4Q554 2; and 4QJNa^b = 4Q554a. On the clear association that 4QJNa^a 3 iii = 4Q554 2 iii, see PUECH, *La croyance*, at 593-594. The possibility that 4QJNa^a 1 = 4Q554 3 is based on the fragment's position in PAM 43.564.

The argument that 4Q554 and 4Q554a are separate copies has been since accepted by GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "Temple Scroll," 2.431-459 at 445-449, and GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, but is still listed as questionable by FREY, "Contexts," 800, note 1.

⁵⁸ Those post-1995 translations and editions that distinguish between 4Q554 and 4Q554a: GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, *DSSU*; GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*. Those that do not: CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*; MAIER, *TTMNJ*; and SÖLLNER, *Jerusalem* (which almost completely reproduces the translation in MAIER, *TTMNJ*). On the history of the reconstruction of the 4Q fragments, see Chapter 1, §2; on the topic of the reconstruction of the order of the columns of the *NJ* in general, see Chapter 2, §5.

4. Organization and Purpose of This Dissertation

This dissertation investigates several different topics related to the content and context of the *NJ*. In addition, this dissertation is concerned throughout with understanding the date, provenance, and character of the *NJ*, and also with the ways that related themes and texts may be employed to help shed light on these matters.

The contribution to knowledge made by this dissertation can be measured in two ways. First, from the perspective of the subject as a whole, this dissertation represents a contribution to the study of a comparatively underappreciated and somewhat misunderstood text. Despite its length and the fact it is preserved in a relatively large number of copies, the *NJ* has not received a wealth of scholarly attention. This state of affairs is due to a number of factors, not the least of which are the aforementioned delays in publishing the Cave 11 and Cave 4 copies. This point is especially important when we recall that the Cave 11 fragments preserve the bulk of the material dealing with the New Temple and that the Cave 4 fragments contain (among other things) the eschatological material of 4Q554 2 iii. As a result, until the 1990s secondary work on the *NJ* was by and large limited to article-length studies, most of which concentrated only on the architectural aspects of the text, since these aspects dominated the portions of the text that had been hitherto published. To be sure, the situation has improved dramatically in the last decade, not only in terms of the editions and translations of nearly all the copies, but also with respect to the scope and number of the secondary studies. Above all, we must acknowledge the excellent work produced by GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ. Even today, however, nearly forty years after the publication of DJD III, there exist only two book-length studies that are entirely devoted to the *NJ*: J. BERNHARDT'S

unpublished 1970 Jena dissertation⁵⁹ and CHYUTIN'S very problematic and highly criticized monograph.

The other way in which this dissertation's contribution to knowledge can be measured involves the purposes of each of its three chapters. Put another way, each of the three chapters is concerned with a particular aspect of the New Jerusalem text, and each chapter represents an addition to the area of study under its compass.

Chapter 1 contains the first working edition of the Cave 4 *NJ* fragments 4Q554, 4Q554a, and 4Q555. A working edition of these fragments is very much a desideratum for several reasons:

- The content of the Cave 4 fragments is critical to understanding the *NJ* as a whole. To begin, 4Q554 contains content that is unparalleled in other copies: the long description of the wall and the named gates of city at 4Q554 1 i 11 - ii 10, for example, as well as the eschatological section of 4Q554 2 iii (+ 4Q554 7). In addition, the fact that 4Q554a and portions of 4Q554 overlap text from other copies (see Table I, above) is important from the perspective of textual reconstruction.

- The introductory details of the Cave 4 copies have not been the focus of intense study. We address matters pertaining to orthography, palaeography, phraseology, and issue of the order of the columns, the last appearing in Chapter 2 rather than Chapter 1.

- The process of the reconstruction of those portions of the 4Q text that are overlapped with material from other copies has yet to be discussed in any sort of detail.⁶⁰ All

⁵⁹ BERNHARDT, "Qumran-Fragments 5Q15."

⁶⁰ The only detailed study remains *DJD III*, where BAILLET and MILIK employed portions of 4Q554 and 4Q554a (although they were not identified as such) to help reconstruct 2Q24 1 and 5Q15 1 i-ii.

the previous reconstructions and editions of the text are in sense or another incomplete: some early editions of the text were unaware of full scope of New Jerusalem fragments, other editions or translations involving a reconstruction of the text are presented without much comment, while still other reconstructions are highly detailed but very problematic. A working edition therefore represents a fine opportunity to evaluate the merits of this previous work.

In conjunction with presenting the first working edition of these Cave 4 copies and discussing these introductory aspects of the text, Chapter 1 presents several other distinctive contributions to scholarship: i) we prove PUECH'S as-yet unsubstantiated contention that 4Q554 and 4Q554a are separate copies; ii) we argue that 4Q554 6 and 4Q554 8 ought to be associated with 4Q554 2 iii, and that 4Q554 7 ought to be considered part of 4Q554 2 iii 19-22; iii) we suggest that the figures most often reconstructed by scholarship to express the dimensions of the walls of the New Jerusalem (100 by 140 stadia) and the number of towers along these walls (1,432) are both incorrect; and iv) we posit that one cannot automatically restore the names of the gates in these city walls that are missing in the text at 4Q554 1 i 11 - ii 10 on the basis of what would appear to be nearly identical lists of named gates in the *Temple Scroll* and the *Reworked Pentateuch*.

Chapter 2 situates and evaluates the *NJ* within several broad contexts of the ideal-city tradition, the most important of which is its place as an important and extremely well-developed example of the "New Jerusalem" topos. The hope for the New Jerusalem is a recurrent theme in the biblical literature and in Jewish extra-biblical writings of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and one whose antecedents, expressions, and development

have occasioned a significant amount of scholarship.⁶¹ Surprisingly, the New Jerusalem topos has not received a great amount of scholarly attention outside article-length studies and encyclopaedia entries, and what research has been published does not always take into account the full range of the expressions of the topos. This issue is addressed in the introductory sections of Chapter 2, where the antecedents of the topos are also discussed briefly.

Chapter 2 is not meant as a comprehensive analytical study of the many and varied articulations of the topos. Rather, in the first half of this chapter the goal is to isolate the common themes of the topos, identify the ways its expressions may be categorized, and determine the stages of its historical evolution.⁶² These investigations are useful in themselves, to be sure, but their essential purpose is to provide a context by which the *NJ* as an expression of the New Jerusalem topos may be evaluated and by means of which it may be better understood. Indeed, this context will prove as important to Chapter 3 and to the Conclusion of this dissertation as it will to the rest of Chapter 2. The second half of Chapter 2 examines the *NJ* specifically as an expression of the topos. The focus here is on several discrete aspects of the text where the conclusions made earlier in the chapter about the New Jerusalem topos may shed some light: the issue of the genre of the *NJ*, the issue of the antecedents of the orthogonal city plan of the *NJ*, and the question whether one can

⁶¹ See Chapter 2, *passim*, for the extent of this work.

⁶² In brief, the texts with which we are concerned are Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, the *Apostrophe to Zion*, the *Book of the Watchers*, Tobit, the Wisdom of Ben Sirach, the *Animal Apocalypse*, the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, *Jubilees*, the *Temple Scroll*, *Sibylline Oracle 3*, the *Psalms of Solomon*, the Qumran text 4Q462, Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, the *Similitudes of Enoch*, *Sibylline Oracle 5*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the Epistle to the Hebrews, Revelation, 4 Ezra, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, 2 Baruch, 4 Baruch, 2 Enoch, the *Apocalypse of Elijah*, and 3 Enoch.

reasonably reconstruct the original order of the material preserved in the fragments of the many copies of the *NJ*. The matter of the order of the *NJ* is important from a material perspective (how do we physically reconstruct the text?) as well as from a conceptual one (how do we understand the text?).

Chapter 2 is an important component of the dissertation for two reasons. On the one hand, even though previous research on the *NJ* has not ignored the obvious fact that it is an extremely detailed and highly developed articulation of the New Jerusalem topos, the *NJ* has never been the subject of the sort of intense, focused study that will be undertaken here. On the other hand, of the many studies on the theme of the New Jerusalem, only a few actually discuss the *NJ* as one of its expressions. As a result, the work offered in this chapter is both fresh and essential for a more complete understanding of the text and its place in the context of the topos.

Chapter 3 examines the points of contact between the *NJ* and other Dead Sea scrolls. The way that this subject is approached is to some degree determined by the previous scholarship, which has concentrated on certain aspects of the relationship between the *NJ* and certain Dead Sea Scrolls (especially the *Temple Scroll* and the *War Scroll*), including potential points of contact not only in the descriptions of various urban structures and of the Temple complex and its operations, but also in the area of eschatological expectations. At the same time, however, the observations made in this chapter are not merely derivative from the conclusions of this previous scholarship. For instance, we differ fundamentally from the prevailing scholarly opinion in the critical matter of the interpretation of the eschatological expectations of the *NJ*. The argument is too involved to summarize here, but the importance

of our revision of the prevailing scholarly opinion should not be underestimated, for it has a profound effect on the way that we will apprehend the relationship between the *NJ* and these other Dead Sea texts. In addition, Chapter 3 presents the first investigation and evaluation of the points of contact between the *NJ* and several other Dead Sea texts, most of which — such as 4Q391, 4Q462, 4Q475, 4Q537, and 4Q491 — have only recently been published.

The Conclusion collects and collates what has been learned in the previous three chapters and offers some positive statements about the date, provenance, and character of the *NJ*. Two complementary questions are paramount here: i) what does it mean that this Aramaic text was preserved by the Qumran sectarians in relatively so many copies and in so many caves? and ii) what can be said about the possible date of composition and the provenance of the *NJ*, as well as the purpose for which it written? In reply, we advance the argument that the *NJ* as a non-sectarian text dating most probably from the middle of the second century BCE. Although this theory of origins is not particularly new, we have both reworked old hypotheses and provided fresh evidence to support our claims. We will argue that the *NJ* is one example of a host of literary responses to the many political, social, and religious calamities that were so much a part of Jewish life during the middle decades of the second century BCE. The *NJ* describes an ideal end-time that exists beyond history and the kingdoms that wax strong within it, a time when Jerusalem would again enjoy peace and strength, and would be the centre of the world and the place where the once-mighty enemies of the city would gather, humbled and laid low by a drastic reversal of fortune. In these hopes, the *NJ* echoes many of the themes common to other articulations of the New

Jerusalem topos. We will suggest that the *NJ* was perhaps introduced into the Qumran community a century or more after its composition and was clearly valued by its members. Finally, although it bore little specific correspondence to other texts, and even though it certainly seems to have made no impact on the conceptions and expectations of the sectarians, we will posit that the *NJ* nevertheless would not have been out of place with respect to the general eschatological anticipations of the Qumran community.

Chapter 1

4Q New Jerusalem

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present a working edition of the 4QNJ fragments. Of all the copies of the *NJ*, the Cave 4 copies are arguably the most important for a complete appreciation and evaluation of the nature of the *NJ*, since not only do they contain overlapping text that helps reconstruct the large but lacunal 5Q15 1 i-ii, but they also preserve vital sections of the text not extant in other copies. For example, only in the 4Q copies is there a description of the massive wall of the New Jerusalem and its twelve named gates (4Q554 1 i 11 - ii 10) and a second description of some of the larger structures of the city (4Q554 2 i-ii). In addition, alone in 4Q554 do we find what scholars have identified as an “eschatological battle”¹ (4Q554 2 iii and, as we will argue, 4Q554 6 and 4Q554 8), the portion of the text that is most critical for evaluating its genre and purpose.

As we observed in our Introduction, however, the process of the publication of the 4Q material since the early 1950s has been an uneven one; indeed, it was not until the past

¹ We will argue in Chapter 3 that this identification is faulty.

decade that editions and translations could begin to reflect anything approaching the full extent of these fragments, and even today we await their complete presentation in an official DJD edition.² As a result, scholarship specifically dealing with the text of the 4Q*NJ* copies or with the nature and extent of its overlaps with other *NJ* copies is quite rare. Indeed, the bulk of the work that does exist in these areas appears principally in the 1962 DJD III edition of 2Q24 and 5Q15, where M. BAILLET and J.T. MILIK employ selected portions of the 4Q text to help reconstruct or interpret the 2Q and 5Q fragments.³ Our working edition, therefore, fills the need for a complete presentation of the Cave 4 *NJ* fragments that addresses the many issues and questions concerning the reconstruction of the text, especially in light of its overlaps with material from 2Q24 and 5Q15.

There has also been correspondingly little scholarly discussion concerning certain introductory aspects of the 4Q*NJ* fragments, including paleography; number orthography and phraseology; the determination of line lengths; and the question of the order of the columns. We will address all these topics in this chapter. Furthermore, the principal editions, reconstructions, and secondary studies of 4Q*NJ* often disagree among themselves with respect to their reading and translation of the fragments, but rarely do their authors take into account the work of others regarding these matters. In contrast, our edition presents our own readings and translations of the 4Q material and also in many places identifies and evaluates

² É. PUECH is editing the fragments for the DJD.

³ BAILLET, DJD III and MILIK, DJD III. The fullest presentation of 4Q*NJ* to date is found in BEYER, *ATTM 1-2*, but even here one must collate the information from both his editions. CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, makes use of most of the 4Q fragments, while GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, is currently the best transcription and translation of the majority of the fragments (although now see COOK, "Vision," for another fine translation). On the pitfalls of relying on CHYUTIN'S work, see the section in Chapter 2, §5, a, on the issue of the order of the columns in the *NJ*.

the different ways in which others have read, translated, and organized this material.

2. General Description of the 4QNJ Fragments

If we collate the information found in the very brief overview of the 4QNJ fragments in PUECH'S 1995 article⁴ and in the more detailed description in F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ' recent essay on the *Temple Scroll* and the *NJ*,⁵ and include our observations from our examination of the PAM photographs,⁶ we may conclude that 4Q554 consists of two major fragments (fragments 1 and 2; these are referred to in the *Preliminary Concordance* as "JNa 1" and "JNa 2")⁷ and perhaps a dozen smaller pieces.

4Q554 1 is an irregularly shaped piece, measuring approximately 25.0 cm maximum along its horizontal axis and approximately 13.0 cm maximum along its vertical axis. The lower portion of three columns of text are preserved: column i preserves the left side of the column only and contains portions of fourteen lines; column ii has large gaps in the top and bottom centre portions of the column, with eighteen lines extant to some degree; and column iii contains remains of ten lines. The fragment exhibits signs of severe stress in places. At the bottom left margin of column ii, there is a gaping lacuna leading upwards to a tear in the

⁴ PUECH, "JN."

⁵ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "Temple Scroll," 2.431-459 at 445-449.

⁶ *Apud* E. TOV, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Microfiche* (Leiden, 1996) and three black and white transparencies (of PAM 41.940, 43.564, and 43.589) that were produced on request by the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont, California, USA. 4Q554 and 4Q554a: PAM 40.608, 41.590, 41.940, 41.946, 41.954, 42.439, 43.564, and 43.589; 4Q555: PAM 42.081, 43.594, and 43.610.

⁷ Note that in the *Preliminary Concordance* 4Q554a is understood as JNa 1 column iv. Note also that the texts "4Q549" and "4Q550" cited by M. BROSHI ("Architecture," 9-22 at 9, note 1) are to be understood as referring to the texts 4Q554 and 4Q555.

skin that extends through the entire preserved portion of the column, in effect dividing the column in two along its vertical axis. In column iii, too, some unknown stress on the material has caused its text to become distorted and appear shrunken and foreshortened.

As noted in Table I in the Introduction, 4Q554 1 is partially overlapped in its column ii by 2Q24 1 and in its columns ii and iii by 5Q15 1 i-ii.⁸ It is also our contention that some brief overlap exists among 4Q554 1 iii, 4Q554a 1, and 5Q15 1 ii 4.

In general, 4Q554 1 is concerned with the measurements of sundry urban architectural phenomena of the city wall, its features, and various internal structures within the city. The great bulk of the section of the text not overlapped by other copies (*i.e.*, 4Q554 1 i - ii 10) preserves a description of the gates of the city, with each gate named after one of the twelve sons of Jacob. This list of named gates is important to the consideration of parallels or similarities among *NJ* and other expressions of the New Jerusalem, including the *Temple Scroll* and the *Reworked Pentateuch*, a matter that we will address in Chapter 3.

4Q554 2 is the second large fragment, consisting of several smaller pieces⁹ that in its assembled form extends roughly 17.0 cm horizontally by 8.0 cm vertically. Only the remains of four lines of column i are extant, while columns ii and iii preserve eleven and nine lines of text respectively, with only two lines from column ii complete. In the final photograph, PAM 43.589, which is slightly larger in scale than PAM 41.940, columns ii and

⁸ *Contra* GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "Temple Scroll," 447, who states that only column ii contains the overlaps. In *DSSSE*, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and TIGCHELAAR correctly note that 5Q15 1 i-ii overlaps both columns ii and iii of 4Q554 1.

⁹ With reference to the photograph of 4Q 554 2 in PAM 43.589, the piece that will form column ii appears alone in PAM 41.590, and then in PAM 41.940 it appears side-by-side (if not precisely joined) with the piece that will come to form columns i and the right margin of column ii. The piece that will form column iii appears alone in PAM 40.608; it would eventually be accompanied by another, smaller piece that would be joined to its lower left side.

iii are two separate pieces joined along stitching holes preserved in the leather in the adjacent margins of both pieces, a fact that has raised some question about the propriety of the joining. The question is important because while columns i and ii contain more architectural data about the wall and other structures, column iii preserves what scholars almost always label an “eschatological battle.” In our presentation of 4Q554 2 iii, below, we will argue that the two pieces are properly joined and that 4Q554 2 indeed preserves three columns of text. We will, however, reserve the discussion surrounding the nature and importance of this so-called “eschatological battle” until Chapter 3.

In addition to 4Q554 1 and 4Q554 2, we can identify at least six additional 4Q554 fragments. Four of these fragments are found in BEYER: the first is “J 4, 51-54,” which he associates with 4Q554 2 iii, and the other three are labeled “J 5, 30,” “J 5, 40,” and “J 5, 50.” We have assigned temporary numbers to these four fragments, but to avoid confusion we will also continue to refer to them by BEYER’S *sigla* — thus: 4Q554 3 (= J 5, 30), 4Q554 4 (= J 5, 40), 4Q554 5 (= J 5, 50), and 4Q554 6 (= J 4, 51-54).¹⁰ In the *Preliminary Concordance* 4Q554 3 (= J 5, 30) is referred to as “JNa 3,” but the *Concordance* does not contain reference to the other three BEYER fragments. The *Concordance*, however, identifies

¹⁰ BEYER, *ATM*, 2.98-99. In the PAM photographs, 4Q554 6 (= J 4, 51-54) appears in PAM 43.589 as the fragment third from left in the bottom row of seven small fragments. The other three fragments, labeled “Isolierte Fragmente über Stadt und Tempel,” appear as follows: i) 4Q554 3 (= J 5, 30), as the fragment immediately above the vertical lacuna in 4Q554 1 ii in PAM 41.940 and later in PAM 43.564 as the solitary fragment to the upper right of 4Q554 (and which may be PUECH’S 4QJNa* 1; see the Introduction, note 57); ii) 4Q554 4 (= J 5, 40), appearing directly above 4Q554 3 (= J 5, 30) in PAM 41.940 and again as the seventh and last fragment from the left in that row of fragments in PAM 43.589 in which 4Q554 6 (= J 4, 51-54) resides; and iii) 4Q554 5 (= J 5, 50), the sixth fragment from the left in the same row. On the general correspondence between BEYER’S *sigla* and the official *sigla*, see the Introduction, note 25.

CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, who uses BEYER’S *sigla*, employs all four of these fragments in his reconstruction: 4Q554 6 (= J 4, 51-54) in his column 22, lines 16-19; 4Q554 3 (= J 5, 30) in his column 15, lines 8-10; 4Q554 4 (= J 5, 40) in his column 7, lines 3-4; 4Q554 5 (= J 5, 50) in his column 14, lines 1-2.

two further 4Q554 fragments not transcribed by BEYER: “JNa 4,” which we call 4Q554 7 but consider to be part of 4Q554 2 iii¹¹ and which preserves a small portion of the remains of the bottom margin of a column of text, and “JNa 5,” which we will call 4Q554 8¹² and which, like 4Q554 6 (= J 4, 51-54), we understand to be associated with 4Q554 2 iii. In addition to these six fragments, there are perhaps a further eleven smaller fragments.¹³

4Q554a is a roughly triangular-shaped fragment measuring approximately 11.0 by 11.0 by 16.0 cm, and containing parts of twelve lines of text and one line *vacat*.¹⁴ PUECH’S assertion that 4Q554a is part of a different 4QNJ copy than either 4Q554 or 4Q555¹⁵ (made in a preliminary study and without detailed comment or substantiation) will be examined more completely in our presentation of 4Q554a, below, although we have already stated our contention that PUECH is correct.

4Q555 encompasses at least three,¹⁶ probably six, and perhaps several more small fragments that are composed “in an old Herodian hand from the second half of the first

¹¹ See PAM 41.940, the fragment at extreme top right of photograph.

¹² This fragment does not appear in PAM 41.940, PAM 41.564, or PAM 43.589.

¹³ PAM 43.589 (final photograph): in the aforementioned “bottom row of seven small fragments” (see note 10), the first, second, fourth, and fifth fragments from the left, plus the two fragments immediately above 4Q554 4 (= J 5, 40) and 4Q554 5 (= J 5, 50); PAM 41.940: the three small fragments in a row to the left of 4Q554 3 (= J 5, 30), plus the two small fragments immediately to the right of 4Q554 3 (= J 5, 30) and 4Q554 4 (= J 5, 40) and to the left of 4Q554 7.

¹⁴ See PAM 43.589, top. In the *Preliminary Concordance* this copy is considered part of JNa 1 (*i.e.*, 4Q554) and is labeled “JNa 1 iv.”

¹⁵ PUECH, “JN.” See the Introduction for a brief overview of the history of the presentation of the Cave 4 NJ texts and thus the immediate context of PUECH’S assertion.

¹⁶ It is difficult to tell for certain, but the *Preliminary Concordance* seems to identify only one fragment of 4Q555: “DCP 13,” which we call 4Q555 3.

century BCE.”¹⁷ The material preserved in this copy is extremely minute — less than that which is extant in 1Q32 — and there are no demonstrable overlaps with any other copy.¹⁸ Yet, as GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ observes, the presence of the word פתורא in both fragments 2 and 3 intimates a connexion with the description of the Temple and its objects in 2Q24 4 and 11Q18 20.¹⁹

3. Palaeographic Remarks

4Q554, 4Q554a, and 4Q555 have been dated on palaeographical grounds to early Herodian times, roughly the second half of the first century BCE.²⁰

Although the sample provided by 4Q554a is not statistically great, the letters in 4Q554 are relatively larger and are written with a thicker stroke than the letters in 4Q554a, which are noticeably smaller in height and seem written with a finer stroke. These characteristics are especially evident with respect to the letters that extend in part below the level of the other letters (*i.e.*, medial and terminal *kap*, terminal *nun*), the downward strokes of which are particularly graceful in 4Q554a.

Horizontal ruling-lines do not seem to be in evidence in either 4Q554 1 or 4Q554 2, even on the excellent-quality transparencies CT PAM 41.940, 43.564, and 43.589, although it must be admitted that these transparencies might not reflect scratch-marks into the skin of

¹⁷ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” 448.

¹⁸ CHYUTIN’S reconstruction (*NJ Scroll*) assumes that there are overlaps. See the presentation of the 4Q555 fragments, below.

¹⁹ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” 448. He also reports that the fragment contains the word עשרים, “which may indicate the number 20 that recurs frequently in the *New Jerusalem*.”

²⁰ PUECH, *La croyance*, 591. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” 447; “New Jerusalem,” 607.

the fragments. On the other hand, the skin on which 4Q554a is written exhibits faint but clear ruling-lines that extend beyond the margin of the column.

Regarding the palaeography of certain individual letters:

- although there are many minor variations, *waw* and *yod* are generally indistinguishable in 4Q554; in 4Q554a there is a tendency for the *yod* to be written with a shorter stroke than the *waw*.

- medial *mem* in 4Q554 is comparatively squat, with the final stroke often extending sharply down and to the left, thereby at times forming an angle, with the foot of the letter flat; 4Q554a has a much smoother stroke, with a longer down stroke and a more curvaceous movement to the left.

- terminal *mem* in both 4Q554 and 4Q554a is often radically elongated downwards, forming a sort of upright rectangle with half of the letter hanging below the level of the line.

- terminal *nun* generally extends straight down in 4Q554, although there are exceptions, as with ךםן at 1 ii 16; in 4Q554a this letter sweeps down and to the right in a graceful arc before (sometimes) straightening downwards (*cf.* 4Q554a 1, 5, and 10).

- *'ayin* in 4Q554 is usually written with longer strokes than in 4Q554a.

4. Number Orthography, Palaeography, and Phraseology

a. Orthography

One idiosyncrasy of the 4Q554 and 4Q554a fragments is their frequent (but not

exclusive)²¹ use of ciphers rather than words to express cardinal numbers, a trait exhibited in no other *NJ* copy.²² In every place where a measurement in a 4*QNJ* fragment is given in cipher form, the same measurement will be extant in its dictionary form in any overlapping copies. The reverse is not true, however: not every instance of a dictionary-form measurement in a non-4*QNJ* copy is found in its cipher form in an overlapping 4*QNJ* copy.

Although at first blush the use of cipher- and dictionary-form numerals in 4*QNJ* appears arbitrary, at least one pattern is discernable. As we will see, the enclosure of the city described in these fragments is rectangular in shape, with the longer walls bounding the east and west and the shorter walls framing the north and south. In every case where the text is extant, the figure for the length of each part of the East and West walls is given in dictionary form (*cf.* 4Q554 1 i 12, 15) while the corresponding figures for the appropriate parts of the North and South walls are displayed in cipher form (*cf.* 4Q554 1 i 19, ii 6, 8, and 10).

²¹ In total, 4Q554 1 and 2 preserve twenty-two cipher-form numbers and twenty-five dictionary-form ones (on these definitions, see the following note). These figures do not take into account places where the specific type of number cannot be reconstructed with confidence (*e.g.*, 4Q554 1 iii 14). 4Q554a preserves three cipher-form numbers and eleven dictionary-form ones. Although the difference in the ratio between the two types of numbers in these texts initially might seem significant, it is probably the case that different portions of both copies of the *NJ* had sections that contained proportionally more of one type of number than the other. For example, the 22:25 ratio of 4Q554 1 and 2 might, on the surface, appear to be radically different from the 3:11 ratio of 4Q554a. When we note, however, the 21:13 ratio of 4Q554 1, the 1:10 ratio of 4Q554 2, and 0:2 ratio of 4Q554 3, the 3:10 ratio of 4Q554a does not appear so out of step.

²² The following symbols are employed in this chapter to represent the ciphers found in these fragments: $\beth = 1$ (the “unit-cipher”); $\daleth = 2$ (*i.e.*, just as $\beth + \beth = \aleph$, so $\daleth = \aleph$; on the cipher \daleth , see the extended discussion below); $\text{—} = 10$; $\text{ז} = 20$; and $\text{—} = 100$.

Throughout this study the following definitions apply. “Cipher” or “cipher form” refers to the method of expressing numerals by means of pictorial ideograms. In 4*QNJ*, $\beth = 1$, $\aleph = 2$, $\aleph\aleph = 3$, and so on, with various other ciphers for the numerals 10, 20, and 100. For example, $\aleph\aleph$ is translated as “cubits two.” In contrast, “dictionary” or “dictionary form” refers to the practice of employing words to indicate numerals, and these are expressed in English in their dictionary forms as well. For example, $\text{קנין תריין אמין ארבע עשרה}$ is translated as “rods two, [*i.e.*,] cubits fourteen,” with both values expressed in dictionary-form numerals in the Aramaic and the English. See S. GANDZ, “Hebrew Numerals,” *PAAJR* 4 (1932-1933), 53-112.

Whether this pattern is significant or was simply a stylistic affectation is unclear.²³

b. Palaeography

In 4QNJ, there are three different ways that a series of single-unit ciphers terminates.

Let us use the number 6 (= IIIII) to illustrate the ways.

i) The first method is the simplest: 6 = IIIII. In this case, all the ciphers — including the last in the series — are the same, that is, a simple stroke made vertical or slightly inclined to either side from the vertical (see, for example, 4Q554 1 ii 12, 4Q544a line 7). This method is employed both when the series of unit-ciphers occurs within a longer series of various ciphers (again, see 4Q554 1 ii 12 and 4Q554 a line 7) or, in one instance, when the series of unit-ciphers stands alone (4Q554 1 ii 19). In one instance (4Q554 1 ii 18), the last cipher of the series extends downwards a further 250%.

ii) The second method involves a cipher (or, more correctly, a pseudo-cipher, since it is no more than a stylized way in which the final two unit-ciphers in a series combine) that is in this present work represented by the symbol \forall ; in these cases the number 6 = \forall IIII. The cipher \forall is formed when the penultimate unit-cipher is shortened to a greater or lesser degree and angled approximately 45° to the right at its top. The final unit-cipher is then added at an angle of approximately 45° to the left at its top. The bottom of both unit-ciphers touch,

²³ It is worth noting that cipher-form numerals are not restricted to the Aramaic documents of the Dead Sea Scrolls, but appear in Hebrew texts as well. Thus, even if one holds that the Aramaic texts at Qumran were imports, the presence of cipher-form numerals in a given text means that one cannot conclude that it is an import exclusively on the basis of the distribution of these numerals. And if we are to accept that *4QMishmarot A* (4Q320) is a sectarian document, then evidence of cipher-form numerals in a text cannot *prima facie* mean that the text is a non-sectarian composition. On the *NJ* as a Qumran Aramaic text, see the Conclusion to this dissertation.

thereby forming a shape akin to the modern letter “v,” but since the downward stroke of the final unit-cipher almost always in *4QNJ* extends somewhat below the level of the other unit-ciphers in the series (including the penultimate cipher that it touches), the effect is more accurately described like a backwards modern letter “y” with a very abbreviated tail (*cf.* 4Q554a line 5). The value of the pseudo-cipher γ is 2, since, as mentioned, it is simply a stylized form of II.

iii) The third method is very much like the second, except that the scribe extends the long downward stroke of the final (left-hand) stroke in the γ cipher so that the stroke turns clockwise 180° to the left and finishes with an extra horizontal flourish leftwards (the classic example is at 4Q554 1 ii 10). This extra flourish does not affect the value of the cipher, which remains 2. Indeed, in certain places one can notice that the scribe’s pen sometimes lifted from the skin when he made this sharp circular flourish to the left. The result is that instead of a smooth circular line, the flourish appears broken at its lowermost point; for such, see 4Q554 1 i 19 and ii 18.

Even when the full flourish — be it complete or broken — is not in evidence, it is still the case that the final (left-hand stroke) in the γ cipher in 4Q554 *always* exhibits some form of both extra length and/or a curl leftwards. Such is clear at 4Q554 1 ii 13, ii 20, iii 7 (twice), and 2 ii 7, where, upon close examination, the final stroke of the cipher extends in such a fashion. Neither γ nor the γ with the extra flourish ever stands for a numerical value in *4QNJ* anywhere outside its role as the terminus of a series of unit-ciphers.

We find that there are three significant differences between the cipher-form numbers in 4Q554 and those in 4Q554a.

First, the γ cipher with the extra, curling flourish that appears so prominently in 4Q554 1 i and ii, and in abbreviated forms at 4Q554 1 ii, iii, and 2 ii, and which apparently has no parallel in any of the other evidence (see Tables II and III, below), does not appear in 4Q554a. To be sure, there is only one example of the γ cipher in 4Q554a, so any conclusion must of course be provisional. On the other hand, the 4Q554 examples of the γ cipher without exception exhibit some aspect of the flourish, while the sole example from 4Q554a plainly resembles the γ cipher seen, for example, at 4Q320, where the final (left-hand) stroke is perfectly straight and does not extend downwards vertically, thereby forming a cipher like the modern letter “v.”

A second minor but noteworthy discrepancy between 4Q554 and 4Q554a is manifest in the difference between the two texts with regard to the cipher 3, the cipher for the number 20. Although the cipher 3 does not appear in 4Q554 2, in the places in which it is in evidence in 4Q554 1 (*cf.* 4Q554 1 ii 12, 14, 17, and *passim*), it invariably displays an extra curling to the top loop of the cipher; if we are to imagine once again the modern numeral “3,” it would be said that the top loop has a rather prominent *serif*. In contrast, the only example of this cipher in 4Q554a (at line 4) is utterly *sans serif* and is noticeably more flattened on top.

A third discrepancy between 4Q554 and 4Q554a exists in the way unit-ciphers are shown in each text. The strokes that form the unit-ciphers in 4Q554 1 and 2 are normal in length (compared to the lengths of unit-ciphers in other texts), relatively pronounced in thickness, and by and large vertical, although there are examples of unit-ciphers leaning one way or the other from the vertical, even within a single series. In 4Q554a, the unit-ciphers are shorter, thinner, and tend to lean towards the right at their top (*cf.* 4Q554a lines 4, 5, and

7). These three differences in the orthography of their cipher-forms, when considered together, suggest that 4Q554 and 4Q554a were written by two different scribes.

We can also compare the cipher-form numerals of 4QNJ with other examples from different sources, including other Dead Sea texts. In his table of semitic numerals, S. GANDZ presents a list of Hieroglyphic, Babylonian, Phoenician, Aramaean, Palmyrene, Nabataean, and Kharoṣṭhi cipher-form numerals. Comparing the cipher-form numbers found in 4QNJ with those in his table, we find the following:

Table II: The Cipher-Form Numbers in 4QNJ and Related Languages

- I The simple vertical stroke is common to all languages. Both the Phoenician and Aramaean exemplars display the tendency to split a long series of unit-ciphers into groups of three, which GANDZ notes was derived from the Babylonian and Egyptian systems. Indeed, the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine consistently exhibit long series of units in groups of three. But this grouping into threes is not a tendency of 4Q554 or 4Q554a, whose scribes tended to run the unit-ciphers together in one series (*e.g.* 4Q554 1 ii 20). Nor is 4QNJ like the Palmyrene and Nabataean exemplars, which employ a specific cipher for the number 5 and then add one to four unit-ciphers to represent the numbers 6 to 9. A specific cipher for the number 5 is also known in pre-exilic Hebrew ostraca (so GANDZ).
- ∨ The peculiar 4QNJ pseudo-cipher for the number 2 in a terminal position in a series is not found in GANDZ' Table 1. It is, however, known from Hebrew ossuaries of the first century CE,²⁴ where it quite clearly stands for a value of 2. The ∨ cipher with the extra flourish is not witnessed at all.
- This cipher (with the characteristic downward hook to the right terminus of the cipher) is common to Phoenician, Aramaean, and Palmyrene exemplars.

²⁴ So DUSSAUD, *Syria IV* (Paris, 1923), 241-244 at lines 2, 19, and 27.

3 The 4QNJ examples of this cipher²⁵ very closely resemble those found in Palmyrene. They are unlike the Aramaean exemplars, which have much more length to the uppermost horizontal line, and the Nabataean exemplars, which are almost identical to the modern ampersand (&).

— The 4QNJ 100-unit cipher (*cf.* 4Q554 1 ii 12) has its only close parallel in the Aramaean exemplars, but even this is not exact: most often the mark midway along the horizontal stroke of the cipher in the Aramaean exemplars extends both above and below or simply below the horizontal, while the horizontal stroke itself seems to have a second small hook, this one extending vertically from the left part of the stroke and hooking to the right. The net result in these Aramaean examples is a cipher that most often looks like a very elongated modern capital letter “S” that has been rotated 90 degrees and bisected by a short vertical slash.

Cipher-form numerals are not too common among the Dead Sea Scrolls, so there is no great store of examples from which conclusions might be drawn. Our examples are culled from the texts 4Q318, which is an Aramaic Brontologion; 4Q259 + 4Q319 (*4QRule of the Community*^e + *4QOtot*); 4Q320, or *4QCalendrical Document A*, and 4Q326, or *4QCalendrical Document E*^a; 4Q559, or *4QBiblical Chronology*, also called an “Aramaic Chronograph”,²⁶ and 6Q17, a small fragment of a calendrical document.²⁷ One last text of

²⁵ As GANDZ describes, this cipher, standing for the number twenty, was the end result of the vertical stacking of two ciphers for the number ten. These ten-unit ciphers were originally horizontal bars (—), but later gained a little, downwards-curling cursive tail on the right. Indeed, this cursive form of the number 10 is seen throughout 4Q554 1, but the tail has become more of a hook, extending clockwise a full 135 degrees from the horizontal, so that the cipher has an arrow-like look about it (see, *e.g.*, 4Q554 1 ii 12 for some fine examples). To return to the issue of 3, when two of the cursive-tailed ciphers were stacked vertically, they formed a ligature, and thus evolved into the cipher 3 extant in 4Q554 1 (*cf.* examples at 4Q554 1 ii 8, 12, 14, and *passim*) and other texts. Note also J.K. LEFKOVITS, who says that the twenty-unit ciphers in the Copper Scroll are “created by two tens, one on top the other” (“Appendix B. Numerals, Numbers, and Contracted Teens,” *The Copper Scroll 3Q15: A Reevaluation. A New Reading, Translation, and Commentary* (STDJ 25; Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2000), 489-497 at 489).

²⁶ See BEYER, *ATM* 1, 34-35, *AATM* 2, 16-17; EISENMAN/WISE, “A Biblical Chronology (4Q559),” *DSSU*, 92-93 [= *Jesus und die Urchristen* (Trans. P. DAVIES and B. MÄNZ-DAVIES; München, 1992), 98-99]; W. NEBE, “4Q559 ‘Biblical Chronology’,” *ZAH* 10 (1997), 85-88; M.O. WISE, “‘To Know the Times and the Seasons’: A Study of the Aramaic Chronograph 4Q559,” *JSP* 15 (1997), 3-51; and GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, 2.1114-1115. WISE believes the fragment to be a Herodian semi-cursive copy, written in the period from 50 BCE to 70 CE, of a text dating from roughly 200 BCE. See also W. NEBE, “Biblical Chronology,” 85, who notes that “die Sprache von 4Q559 ist hasmonäisch-aramäisch.”

note is 3Q15, the *Copper Scroll*, which, like 4Q554, concurrently employs both cipher-form and dictionary-form numerals. The palaeography of its cipher-form numerals will be largely ignored in this survey, however, since the method of their impression upon the copper of the scroll is so radically different from the writing of ink on leather.²⁸

Table III: The Cipher-Form Numbers in 4QNJ and Other Dead Sea Texts

- l Unlike the exemplars of 4QNJ, long series of unit-ciphers in 4Q320 and 4Q559 are arranged into groups of three rather than in a single series. In 4Q318 they are also by and large thus arranged, but often the groups are separated by terminal unit-ciphers in *each* group (*i.e.*, every third unit-cipher) that extend downwards an extra 100-200%.
- γ The use of the cipher for the number two in a terminal position, γ, is not found in 4Q318. It does occur several times in 4Q559 and once in 4Q326 (as a backwards “y” as in 4Q554a 1 ii 5, but with

In some places WISE’S readings of the values of the unit-ciphers in 4Q559 are perhaps faulty. For example, at col. 2, line 5 (fr. 1) he reads *ויעקוב בר שנין 333 וווו* [אולד ית לוי “And Jacob was] sixty-five y[ears old when he fathered Levi” (NEBE also reads “65,” but as *ווי 333*). The question of the patriarch Jacob’s age at various important points in his life was one that was addressed by various Second-Temple Jewish authors. But the problem with the reading at this point in 4Q559 has nothing to do with possible parallels in the ancient literature. Rather, while fr. 1 reads only *333* [at PAM 42.074, later a small piece was added to it at PAM 43.603, but the text here reads neither as WISE’S *וווו 333* nor as NEBE’S *ווי 333*, but unmistakably as *3 וו 333*, which is an impossible figure (on the possibility of 3 following unit-ciphers, see below, re 4Q320). It seems, therefore, that the small piece that was added at PAM 43.603 might be improperly placed, and the figures cited by both WISE and NEBE incorrect.

Another example of a possibly faulty reading of this text occurs at column 3, lines 7-8, where WISE would read *ו[ו] ווו ווו ווו* [ארם נהרין שנין] מלך כושרשעתים “Cushan-rishathaim the king of [Aram-Naharaim,] ei[g]ht [year]s” (also NEBE). The figure of eight years is corroborated by Judg 3.8, which tells that this king kept Israel in subjugation for eight years. The difficulty with the preserved text at 4Q559 is that the final cipher is neither a l nor a γ, but rather a cipher that very much looks like a modern letter “y” *sans serif*, where the tail of the right-hand stroke extends well below the point at which it meets the left-hand one. One might argue that this cipher is a variation on the simple extended l exhibited in the Hebrew ossuary (so DESSAUD, *Syria*, lines 3, 11-14, 17-18, 20, and 23-24), which has a value of only one, but not only does the ossuary cipher lack a left-hand stroke, but also 4Q559 in all other places uses the cipher γ to terminate series of unit-ciphers. And if the strange “y” cipher is no more than an improperly formed γ (and this is no more than a guess), then WISE’S reading *ו[ו] ווו ווו ווו* (= 8) thus properly should be *γ[ו] ווו ווו* (= 9).

²⁷ See M. BAILLET, *DJD III*, 132-133, pl. XXVII; GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, 2.1156-1157.

²⁸ On the subject as a whole, see LEFKOVITS, “Appendix B,” 489-497.

a full rather than abbreviated final stroke) but never appears with the sharp circular flourish that extends down and to the left that is in evidence in 4Q554. The Υ cipher with the extra flourish does not appear in 4Q320, either, but 4Q320 presents a bewildering variety of ways in which a series of unit-ciphers may terminate: i) normally, with a simple unit-cipher (e.g., 4Q320 1 ii 7); ii) with the stroke of the final unit-cipher extending downwards an extra 100-200% (4Q320 1 ii 2), which is morphologically identical to the extended I shown in the Hebrew ossuary and to the terminal ciphers in 4Q318; iii) as in 4Q554a ii 5, as Υ , but without any flourish at all, so that the cipher appears very similar to the modern letter “v” (4Q320 1 ii 6 and 11), and having a value of two; iv) as Υ , but with the Υ in the penultimate rather than final position, followed by a unit-cipher inclined on the identical angle of the left-hand stroke of the Υ (e.g., ΥIII at 4Q320 1 ii 7 or $\text{II}\Upsilon\text{II}$ at 4Q320 4 vi 1); and v) as a lone cipher to represent the number two, appearing quite similar to the modern letter “x” (4Q320 1 ii 5). In addition, whereas in the other Qumran texts series of two or more unidentical ciphers that are meant to be added together are always arranged in order of descending value, in 4Q320 a 3 cipher that is meant to be added to a series of unit-ciphers follows rather than precedes the series. This order is consistent regardless of the fashion in which the series of unit-ciphers is terminated.

- Of all the ciphers, the one that stands for the number ten is most consistently alike in the Dead Sea Scrolls, as it is also among the scripts listed in GANDZ’ Table 1. The only variations occur in 4Q318 and 6Q17, where the hook of the cipher, which extends downward from the right terminus of the cipher, is somewhat straightened and elongated, giving the cipher the look of a *resh*.
- 3 The cipher for the number twenty is found in a number of Dead Sea texts and, while all are generally similar, there are many minor variations. The cipher in 4QNJ, despite a notable minor difference between 4Q554 and 4Q554a (which will be discussed shortly), closely resembles the Palmyrene exemplars from GANDZ’ Table 1, where the cipher very much appears like the modern number “3” — the cipher is relatively vertical, with generally only a slight ‘rotation’ leftwards at the top (counter-clockwise), and each of its ‘loops’ (if we are to continue to imagine its similarity with the modern number “3”) is roughly the same size. This form of the cipher is also witnessed at 4Q318 and 4Q326. In contrast, the 6Q17 example, while still oriented vertically, has a bottom ‘loop’ whose interior angle is far sharper and whose bottom stroke extends down and to the left at a 45° angle from the vertical. In 4Q559, the vertical axis is also maintained (although the cipher is definitely tilted at about 15-20° at the top to the right (clockwise), but the stroke that gives the bottom loop of the cipher terminates at its downwards stroke, and so does not extend back to the right so as to finish the ‘loop.’ In 4Q320, the cipher is inclined and exaggerated along a 45° axis counter-clockwise, so that its ‘loops’ are not one above the other but rather are arranged at this 45° angle.

— A similarity between 4Q559 and 4QNJ is the 100-unit cipher, which in the former manifests a small slash that extends vertically from the horizontal stroke about midway along its length.

The evidence presented in Table II and Table III suggests that there is no way of easily classifying the cipher-numerals in 4QNJ, even with respect to those that appear in other Dead Sea texts. To compound matters, while the orthography of the ciphers is fairly consistent in a manuscript like 4Q554, certain texts, such as 4Q320, contain many variations on the way an individual cipher might be expressed. As a result, even in specific texts there may be several ways any given cipher is written.

c. Phraseology

The manner in which distances are expressed in the *NJ* is worth comment. In the *NJ*, seven cubits equals one rod (or “reed”). This metrology differs from that of Ezekiel 40-48, which is another text that preserves a detailed description of the measurements of the New Jerusalem and its structures. The rod of Ezekiel contains six cubits (*cf.* 40:5), not seven.

Generally speaking, distances in the *NJ* are expressed twice, once in rods and once in cubits, with most of the exceptions occurring when the distance is vast and so must be expressed in סטאדיון (“stadia”; *e.g.*, 4Q554 1 i 11 - ii 10, *passim*), or when it is too small to be expressed in a round number of rods, in which case only cubits is employed (*e.g.*, 4Q554 1 iii 17, 4Q554 2 ii 12).²⁹ There are cases, however, where one would expect a measurement in both rods and cubits but encounters only cubits (*e.g.*, the seven-cubit height of the exterior

²⁹ Large numbers that are not perfect divisors of seven are still expressed by means of both rods and cubits. See, *e.g.*, 4Q554 1 ii 21: 11 — 333[3 לאמין חודה ואמה וואו — משח פתיה קנין] — where, despite the lacuna, it is clear that both rods and cubits are employed to express the same distance.

gate at 4Q554 1 iii 17 (*cf.* the same distance expressed in both rods and cubits at 4Q554 1 iii 18)).

In 4QNJ, the measurement in rods always precedes the measurement in cubits. Consider 4Q554 1 ii 18, which reads ׀׀׀׀׀׀ — קנין אמה (‘‘rods cubits: 17’’), wherein the אמה has been crossed out by the scribe. It is impossible to know whether the scribe wrote the full phrase before realizing and rectifying his error, but the plain sense of the text suggests that he corrected his error immediately after making it, *i.e.*, he wrote and then crossed out אמה. If this is the case it implies that the scribe deliberately wished the measurement to be expressed first by rods and then by cubits, otherwise he would have simply crossed out the קנין and continued by expressing the distance in cubits and then in rods, thereby avoiding an erasure in the middle of a phrase.³⁰

The manner of expressing distances twice, first by rods and then by cubits, is also witnessed throughout 5QNJ. As for 11QNJ, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ has noted that this copy ‘‘does not duplicate the measures in reeds and in cubits as 5Q15 does,’’³¹ but it must be admitted there are not many fragments materially wide enough to permit a measurement in both rods and cubits. The one possible example that supports GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ’ contention is 11Q18 8 2, where we find the phrase פ[רתיה אמה].³² The wording of this phrase would seem to rule out a measurement in rods preceding it. As we have noted, however, small distances are never expressed in rods, even in 4QNJ, so one would not expect a measurement

³⁰ It is also possible that the first letters of the word קנין was started and crossed out in favour of אמה at 4Q554 1 ii 13 — see the Note on the Reading *loc. cit.*

³¹ ‘‘Last Columns,’’ 180.

³² So GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII.

in rods in this example. Measurements in rods do appear in 11QNJ — three times, in fact (11Q18 17 ii 2 and 5, and 32 4), but in each case the text breaks off before a second measurement in cubits (if indeed such existed) could be given. For their part, neither 1QNJ nor 2QNJ mentions rods or cubits, although the latter displays several dictionary-form numerals that appear to be measurements of distance (or amount).

In every case where the text in any of the 4Q copies of the *NJ* is clear enough to be read, the unit of measurement (rods or cubits) precedes the numerical value. This is true whether the numeral is expressed in its dictionary-form or in its cipher-form. This pattern is witnessed also in 5QNJ and 11QNJ, with three problematic passages that require attention. The first passage is found at 11Q18 32 4, which reads] אר[בעת קניה] or] ש[בעת קניה], or “its seven/four rods.” The anomalous phraseology, however, is a result of the pronominal suffix, which in the construct state functions as the *nomen rectum* to the adjective, that is, the *nomen regnum*. The second passage is found at 5Q15 15 1, which, according to FITZMYER and HARRINGTON, reads in its entirety] ת[ריין] ק[נין] or “t]wo [r]ee[ds.”³³ With so few letters preserved, however, this reading cannot be regarded in any way as assured, and all the more so if we recall that the *editio princeps* is uncertain about each letter. Moreover, the *editio princeps* situates the] ת[ריין above the] ק[נין] (i.e., in a super-scripted position), so there is no guarantee that these two words are meant to be read together as a discrete phrase.³⁴

The third problem phrase is more ambiguous and cannot be resolved as easily. At

³³ FITZMYER/HARRINGTON, *MPAT*. The fragment is not translated in MILIK, *DJD* III.

³⁴ MILIK, *DJD* III.

11Q18 6 1 GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and TIGCHELAAR read מאתיין ותמניין אמין as “two hundred and eighty cub[its],” and add that this figure of 280 cubits, while unattested elsewhere in the *NJ*, “corresponds to the measures of each side of the inner court of the Temple, as deduced by Yadin from the elements provided in the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19 xxxvi) and 4Q365a.”³⁵ It is possible, however, to read the phrase as קניין] מאתיין ותמניין אמין, which would be translated as “rods:] 280, cub[its: 1960.” This reading would mean that the phraseology would now be in line with that which is exhibited by all of the other examples from 11Q*NJ* and from the other copies. Support for this alternate reading comes from lines 2 and 4 of the same fragment, which contain the word פריזיא, which elsewhere in the *NJ* refer to blocks of houses in the city proper. This is important because the measurements in the section of the text concerning the gross details of the houses and blocks are at times quite large, and thus the figure of 280 rods would theoretically not be out of place (although why this particular figure should be cited is unclear). That the 11Q fragments actually preserve such large numbers in other places is plain from 11Q18 17 ii 5, where a figure of between 100 and 200 rods is mentioned. Furthermore, we discover at 11Q18 7 4 a reference to ת] מאה וחמשין, which might mirror a phrase at 4Q554 1 ii 12 (par. 5Q15 1 i 1) describing a dimension regarding the blocks of houses in the city.³⁶ To be fair, we should mention that GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and TIGCHELAAR assert that there is a very close physical correspondence among

³⁵ DJD XXIII, 314-315. Cf. Y. YADIN, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem, 1983), 1.204. J. MAIER understands the 280 cubits as the inner portion of the inner court, interior to the walls that surround it (*The Temple Scroll. An Introduction, Translation, & Commentary* (trans. R.T. WHITE; JSOTSup 34; Sheffield, 1985), 63).

³⁶ The phrase is תלת מאה וחמשין ושבע אמין (5Q*NJ*), with the 4Q*NJ* phrase in cipher-form numerals.

fragments 6-9 and that fragments 8 and 9 appear to deal with details in and around the Temple. In other words, if all four fragments are concerned with the Temple, the very large measurement of 280 rods (as opposed to 280 cubits) might be out of place.³⁷ As a final point, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and TIGCHELAAR note the presence of the word נִיָּרָפ at 11Q18 6 4, but also posit that it could refer to “blocks attached to the wall of the inner court.”³⁸ This definition, of course, assumes a city structure whose residential blocks abut the wall of the inner court, and there is no evidence in the other *NJ* fragments to support this hypothesis. In the light of these observations, either reading — 280 rods or 280 cubits — might be correct.

In conclusion, despite the difficulty posed by 11Q18 6 1, in expressions of simple distance measurement in the *NJ* that appear without a pronominal suffix, the numerical value of the measurement always follows the unit of measurement. The question that remains is whether this peculiar phraseology is significant.

If we turn our attention to examples of distance measurement in the other literature, we find that distance measurement in the Hebrew Bible is most often expressed by means of a construct chain, with the numeral in a construct state preceding rather than following the unit of measurement, although there are variations.³⁹ In the *Copper Scroll* various patterns of word order are preserved, with the bulk of the simple expressions involving measures of distance having the unit of measurement preceding the numerical value. In cases

³⁷ But not too far out of place; for example, the wall circumscribing the outer court is approximately 1,600 cubits square (11Q19 xl 8), which is not that much smaller than 1960 cubits (= 280 rods). On the 1,600 cubits, see Chapter 2, note 97.

³⁸ DJD XXIII, 315.

³⁹ See GESENIUS/KAUTSCH, §134; P. JOÜON and T. MURAOKA, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Subsidia biblica 14.I-II; Roma, 1993 [corrected first edition]), §142.

where a verbal/nominal form is also involved, there is no tendency either way.⁴⁰

With respect to those texts that preserve a detailed description of the measurements of future-time structures, nowhere do we find parallels with the *NJ*. In Ezekiel 40-48, for instance, the construct chain predominates, although the phrase קנה ארז appears readily enough (*cf.* Ezek 40:6-7), and there are entire stretches of measurements in chapters 47 and 48 where the unit of measurement is implied rather than stipulated. In the *Temple Scroll* the unit of measurement follows the numeral, unlike the *NJ*. What is most odd is the way in which the unit of measurement, always a cubit, is recorded in the *Temple Scroll*. Sometimes the plural form of the noun is used when it is expected (*e.g.*, 11Q19 xxx 7, 8, 10, and *passim*), but other times only the singular form is used in cases where the number is greater than one (*e.g.*, 11Q19 x 17), and still other times the singular form appears with the affixed preposition -א (e.g., 11Q19 xxxvi 10, xxxviii 12, *etc.*). Why this variation in the method of expressing distance measurement in cubits should exist in the *Temple Scroll* is unclear.

Therefore, there is no set formula by which distance measurement is articulated in the biblical texts or in the texts containing detailed expositions of the structures of the New Jerusalem or the New Temple. We may conclude that, despite the diverse ways in which units of measurement and numerals may be expressed in all these texts, including the *NJ*, there appears to be no special significance to writing distance measurements one way or another.

With respect to the order in which measurements of length, width, and height are conveyed in the *NJ* we note that, generally speaking and accounting for the relatively

⁴⁰ See LEFKOVITS, "Numerals, Numbers, and Contracted Teens," 495-497.

common cases where the order must be inferred, the measurement of a structure's length in the *NJ* precedes the measurement of its width, and length or width precedes height. There are, however, examples of the rarer formula wherein the notation of the width of an object precedes that of its length: 5Q15 1 ii 15 (which is very problematic),⁴¹ 4Q554 1 iii 22 (*cf.* 4Q554a 1 and 5Q15 1 ii 4),⁴² and 4Q554 1 iii 20-21 (*par.* 5Q15 1 ii 3).⁴³ In both of the latter two cases — that is, the two cases where the unusual width-length order is certain — the object that is being measured has a length and width that are equal. It might be the case, therefore, that equilateral objects in the *NJ* elicit this unusual distance phraseology.⁴⁴

d. Conclusions and Observations

Summing up the findings of our investigations, we note that in some cases the Cave

⁴¹ This is a very fragmentary example, mostly based on MILIK'S reconstruction of the text (DJD III).

⁴² The order of the measurements is sure, although our transcription is the first to suggest that this order may have been present in all three copies. See the Note on the Reading at 4Q554a, line 1.

⁴³ WISE, *Temple Scroll*, 80, identifies five 5Q passages that follow the length-width pattern: 5Q15 ii 3, 5Q15 ii 4, and 5Q15 ii 15 (with 4Q *parr.*) are the three possible examples that we cite; his fourth example, 5Q15 i 12, however, preserves not a width-length order but width-height order; and his fifth example, 5Q15 i 19 - ii 1, is too fragmentary to make any conclusions.

⁴⁴ C.L. MEYERS and E.M. MEYERS have observed that whereas length precedes width in the places in Ezekiel 40-48 that describe the measurements within the holy portion of the land, width precedes length in the places where the subject is the land apart from YHWH'S precinct, a "consistent" pattern that leads them to conclude that these formulae are employed deliberately in the relevant passages in First Zechariah (*Haggai, Zechariah 1-8* (AB 25B; Garden City, 1987), 150-151. One might argue, however, that the description of the non-tribal land, the square portion containing the Temple area, the Levitical area, and the land designated for the city and its environs (Ezek 48:9), whose measurements are given in the order width and length, is part of the holy portion and therefore, if MEYERS and MEYERS are correct, length should precede rather than follow width in this case (*cf.* Ezek 48:20, which asserts that this portion, minus the holding of the city, is sacred). This one potential break in the pattern, though, is not quite enough to invalidate the hypothesis of MEYERS and MEYERS, although we should also keep in mind that the evidence in the later literature seems to weigh against the application of specific formulae for specific instances. Put another way, even if one could prove that the application of such formulae existed in the book of Ezekiel, there is nothing to indicate that they were similarly meaningful in the later literature.

4 copies of the *NJ* exhibit several scribal characteristics that distinguish them from the other copies of the *NJ*, while in other cases there are distinct dissimilarities between 4Q554 and 4Q554a:

- Whereas all the other copies of the *NJ* employ dictionary-form numerals only, numerals in the 4Q copies are expressed approximately half the time in their cipher forms and half the time in their dictionary forms. At the same time, there are obvious differences between the way cipher-form numbers are written in 4Q554 and the way they are written in 4Q554a.
- There are also several differences between the palaeography of the letters of 4Q554 and those of 4Q554a, not only with respect to specific letters, but also in a general sense, where the letters of 4Q554 are habitually larger and thicker than those of 4Q554a.
- Where 5Q*NJ* and 2Q*NJ* tend to employ *waw* as vowel-letters, these are almost never present in the overlapping portions of 4Q554,⁴⁵ although there are a few exceptions

⁴⁵ An examination of the orthography of the Aramaic noun פְּתִיָּה (פְּתִי) as it appears in the *NJ* reveals a clear difference between the 4Q fragments and the other copies of the text. The form פְּתִיָּה (with the pronominal suffix) appears twice in the Aramaic portions of the Hebrew Bible, once at Ezra 6:3 (in the context of the width of the Temple) and again at Dan 3:1 (with reference to the width of the golden statue of Nebuchadnezzar). Note also that this orthography is preserved in the Qumran copies of these books, 4Q117 (4QEzra) and 4Q112 (4QDan^a). In 1QapGen 21.14 we find פְּתִיָּהָ, the referent being the land that is promised to Abram, but at 21.16 we encounter the phrase לְפִתְיָ אֲרַעָ. The word also appears twice in the Aramaic Enoch fragments: פְּתִיָּהָ at 4Q204 (4QEn^c) 1 xiii 23; and פְּתִיָּה at 4Q212 (24QEn^b) 1 v 21, in the context אֲוֹרְכָה וּפְתִיָּה דִּי אֲרַעָ כֹּלְהָ (on these, see J.T. MILIK, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*, (Oxford, 1976)). MILIK dates 4QEn^c to the early Herodian period and characterizes the scribe's habit of using the 'broken' form of letters as "a feature which recalls the North Syrian Aramaic alphabets, notably Palmyrene." (178) As for 4QEn^b, MILIK dates the text to roughly the middle of the first century BCE and in noting that the orthography is "relatively archaic," cites אֲוֹרְכָה וּפְתִיָּה as an example of archaic orthographic forms of words alternating with full forms. (246) Lastly, we find פְּתִיָּה at 4Q561 4 (see BEYER, *ATTM* 2, 125).

Despite the paucity of the sample and the fact that there are no overlaps, 2Q24 and 11Q18 demonstrate consistently the full orthography פְּתִיָּה. When we turn our attention to the overlapping text (5Q15 1 i-ii and 4Q554 1 i-iii + 4Q554a), we note that wherever the text can be read with certainty, the 4Q fragments boast exclusively the 'short' (= archaic?) orthographic form of the noun. In contrast, the 5Q*NJ* material contains a hearty mixture of full and short orthography for this word.

where a *waw* vowel-letter appears in 4Q554 and not in 5Q15 (*cf.* ףוֹסֵא at 4Q554 1 iii 16 with ףוֹסֵא at 5Q15 i 18).

- Both 4Q554 and 4Q554a contain large *vacats* that mark the end of distinct sections within the *NJ*: the long section of text that describes the walls and gates of the New Jerusalem (4Q554 1 i 11 - ii 10) ends with a *vacat* at 4Q554 1 ii 10 that stretches across nearly the entire width of the column, while at 4Q554a line 2 a similarly large *vacat* marks the transition from an account of the city blocks, streets, and other intramural structures to the portrayal of the interior of the houses.

It is unclear whether these particular *vacats* are reflected in the 5Q copy.⁴⁶ With respect to the *vacat* at 4Q554 1 ii 10, the overlapping text of 5Q15 1 i only begins at 4Q554 1 ii 12, so we do not know if the 4Q *vacat* was mirrored in the 5Q text. In the case of the *vacat* at 4Q554a line 2, while there is overlapping text at this point in the form of 5Q15 1 ii 5, this 5Q text is very fragmentary and has been substantially reconstructed by its editor, MILIK. He has inserted a much smaller *vacat* at the end of the line that seems to correspond with the *vacat* of 4Q554a line 2. On closer inspection, however, it would appear that MILIK might have reconstructed the *vacat* in the 5Q text simply in order to reflect what the 4Q554a text read at this point.⁴⁷

- In several other places, 4Q554 (but not 4Q554a) exhibits small *vacats* whose position in the text cannot be explained (4Q554 1 i 11, 17; 4Q554 ii 9, 15-20; 4Q554 2 iii

⁴⁶ It is clear, however, that *vacats* are found in other sections of 5Q15 1 (*e.g.*, 5Q15 1 ii 7; so MILIK, DJD III). It is also clear that *vacats* are part of 11Q18 (see note 49, below). Because of the fragmentary nature of the text of 11Q18, it is not possible to say with certainty that these large *vacats* marked breaks between discrete portions of the *NJ*.

⁴⁷ For details, see the Note on the Reading at 4Q554a line 2.

22 (= 4Q554 7 22); and reconstructed at 4Q554 1 ii 6, 8).⁴⁸ These smaller *vacats*, whose width varies from approximately three to fifteen letter-spaces, appear seemingly without pattern, with one possible exception. At 4Q554 1 ii 15-20 we encounter small *vacats* in the middle of six consecutive lines, situated so that they appear to be stacked vertically, one on top of the other. It is impossible to say what could have caused this arrangement.⁴⁹

- In some respects, and compared to 4Q554a and the other *NJ* copies, 4Q554 exhibits signs of its being copied inexpertly, quickly, or haphazardly. In addition to the smaller *vacats* described above, it contains a correction (4Q554 1 ii 18) and at 4Q554 1 iii 19 we find the scribe resorting to a solitary *aleph* to indicate the word אָלֶפֶת . At least in one case (4Q554 1 ii 18),⁵⁰ the scribe of 4Q554 simply got his measurements wrong. In a text where the greatest emphasis is seemingly placed on the exactness of the calculations, to the point of giving almost every measurement twice,⁵¹ in both rods and cubits, a scribal mistake in the measurements is highly noteworthy.

⁴⁸ *Vacats* in the *NJ* text are also found in the 2Q and 11Q copies. 2Q24 contains several small *vacats*: 2Q24 1 1, 2Q24 4 14 and 16. The *vacat* at 2Q24 1 1 is not paralleled in the overlapping text at 4Q544 1 ii 12. This is perhaps to be expected, since the *vacat* at 2Q24 1 1 appears between the two words of a dictionary-form number (ד]ח]ו *vac* אָלֶפֶת]ב) while the number in the corresponding place in the text at 4Q554 1 ii 12 is in cipher form. For more on the 2Q24 1 overlaps with 4Q554 1 ii, the Note on the Reading at 4Q554 1 ii 15. It is unclear if the *vacats* at 2Q24 4 14 and 16 were part of the overlapping text at 11Q18 20 5 and 7, since the portion of 11Q text that specifically corresponds to both 2Q *vacats* is not preserved.

Small *vacats* appear in 11Q18 at 11Q18 19 4, and 11Q18 21 5; large *vacats* appear at 11Q18 11 5, 11Q18 12 i 4, 11Q18 13 7, 11Q18 18 4, and 11Q18 26 4-5; *vacats* of uncertain size occur at 11Q18 10 i 4, 11Q18 21 1, 11Q18 22 7, and 11Q18 27 2. On the large 11Q18 *vacats*, see note 46, above

⁴⁹ There could have been a problem with the skin at this point. It is impossible to tell, however, because four of the six *vacats* are not extant, having been reconstructed with the aid of the overlapping 5Q15 text, while the remaining two *vacats* (4Q554 1 ii 15 and 17) are only partially extant.

⁵⁰ On the question of the twenty-four rods of the South and North Walls of the city, see the Note on the Reading at 4Q554 1 i 19, below. It is our contention, *contra* the rest of scholarship, that the scribe meant to write “rods: 24” and not “rods: 25,” and therefore *did not* make a mistake in this regard.

⁵¹ See BROSHI, “Architecture,” 12-13. At 4Q554a line 4 we note that the scribe here (not the same person as the scribe of 4Q554) may have skipped the word אָלֶפֶת .

Perhaps another indication of this inexpert or haphazard copying is found in the long, fragmentary section of 4Q554 that describes the walls of the New Jerusalem and the named gates and corners of these walls (4Q554 1 i 11 to 4Q554 1 ii 10). As we will discuss in our introduction to the Notes on the Readings for 4Q554 1 i, below, this section of the *NJ* is a formulaic description of the four walls of the city, with each wall being described in four stages: from the near corner to the first named gate, from the first named gate to the centre gate, from the centre gate to the third gate, and then from the third gate to the far corner. This process is then repeated for the next wall and then the wall after that one until all four walls and their named gates are identified. When, however, we actually examine in detail the way each of these stages is articulated, we discover that the apparent consistency often disappears at the levels of the orthography and phraseology. This is a curious paradox — one that cannot be resolved easily. On the one hand, not only is the subject of this section of the *NJ* a perfectly regular structure (four walls, with three named gates per wall and set distances between gates and between gates and corners), but the manner in which this structure is described is also quite regular, that is, it is not presented in a haphazard or an irregular manner but rather in a methodical and consistent fashion — four walls, four stages per wall. On the other hand, the expected analogous degree of consistency on the level of word and phrase is missing.⁵² While this strange inconsistency is not severe enough to prevent a

⁵² Examples include variable word-orthography (*e.g.*, רַאסִין at 4Q554 1 i 12 and 15; רִטִין at 4Q554 1 ii 7), variable number-orthography (*e.g.*, a series of unit-ciphers ending in ף at 4Q554 1 i 19 and ii 10 but in ך at 4Q554 1 ii 6 and 8), variable phraseology (*e.g.*, *inter alia*, חַאִיתִא מִשַׁח, רַאִין רַאִין רַאִין at 4Q554 1 i 22 but מִשַׁח ... רַאִין רַאִיתִא רַאִין in the same place in the formulaic description at 4Q554 1 i 17), and anomalous extra notations of compass direction (4Q554 1 i 17). For extended discussions of these inconsistencies, see the Notes on the Reading at the locations indicated.

satisfactory reconstruction of the missing text of the section,⁵³ it is enough to cause us to wonder why, in a section of the text so obviously formulaic, the scribe was so often and so obviously inconsistent.

Why 4Q554 should exhibit such characteristics is a matter of conjecture. It might be the case that the scribe was simply inexperienced,⁵⁴ or perhaps he was hurried, the last possibly explaining the aforementioned inconsistencies in orthography and phraseology in the section 4Q554 1 i 11 to 4Q554 1 ii 10. Another explanation might be that the scribe of 4Q554 had the *NJ* read to him as he wrote, instead of copying the text from a manuscript set before him.

The possibility that the scribe of 4Q554 was hurried (perhaps as a result of his copying a text that was dictated to him) might explain the *sort* of characteristics that we find. For example, the use of cipher-form numbers in place of the longer dictionary-form ones and the use of a simple *aleph* to indicate an unit of measurement in the place of the word ׀מא are, for all intents and purposes, *shorthand* techniques.⁵⁵ Perhaps, too, we should understand the γ cipher with the extra, curling flourish that we find only in 4Q554 to be a *semi-cursive* cipher, wherein this extra flourish represents not a stylistic element but rather a cursive one,

⁵³ For details, see the introduction to the Notes on the Reading and Reconstruction at 4Q554 1 i, below.

⁵⁴ That he unwittingly copied the errors in the measurements from another manuscript is less likely, since 4Q554 would have exhibited the errors only, without traces of erasures and abbreviations. That all these things are extant in the same copy probably indicates that the source of the problem was at the level of the scribe who copied 4Q554 rather than with the document from which this 4Q copy was made.

⁵⁵ In fact, we very informally tested the theory ourselves. In a series of timed, ten-second intervals, we wrote on a sheet of paper as many dictionary-form numbers as we could. Then we tried the same with a series of cipher-form numbers. Square-script Hebrew font is not the best script to write if speed is of the essence, and we found that we could write the ciphers (especially the unit-ciphers) far quicker.

and thus also a shorthand technique. To explain this argument completely, we need to recall that the final stroke in a normal γ cipher extends from the top left to the bottom right, a movement seemingly “against the grain” for a hand that is moving from right to left across the writing surface. The final stroke in an extended γ cipher, however, appears designed for speed, where the short top-left-to-bottom-right movement in a normal γ cipher is augmented by this extra, curving stroke, almost like a backwards “c.” This extra flourish enables the hand to finish the cipher moving naturally to the left rather than to the right, in the direction most suited for a language whose script also moves from right to left. Moreover, we have noted that many of these extended γ ciphers have “broken” final strokes, where the scribe’s pen lifted from the skin, as if he were hurrying these extra flourishes.

In the light of these possible expressions of shorthand techniques, we should perhaps also consider the phrase $\text{|||||} \text{קנין}$ (“rods: 9”) of 4Q554 1 ii 19. Here this long series of unit-ciphers appears cramped and closely spaced together, as if the scribe realized just after he began writing the series that he might not have enough space to contain all the unit-ciphers necessary to express the number “nine.” This is hypothetical, but the decision to begin a long series of ciphers at the end of a line of text (where there might not be enough room to finish) could connote a decision that was made in haste.

The evidence outlined above supports at least the possibility that our scribe wrote in haste and perhaps even transcribed as he listened to the text being read. This last possibility could also help explain the seeming inconsistencies in orthography and phraseology in the long, formulaic section 4Q554 1 i 11 to 4Q554 1 ii 10. Assuming that these inconsistencies

are not the result of a scribe's mechanically reproducing an already inconsistent text,⁵⁶ we might suggest that the *sort* of these inconsistencies — that is, on the level of phrase and word — is indicative perhaps of the *manner* in which they were produced. We might imagine the speaker reading this long description of the walls and the named gates, one measurement at a time: “From the corner he measured to the gate, stadia: thirty-five; [pause] and the name of this gate is the Gate of Simeon; [pause] and from this gate he measured to the centre gate, stadia: thirty-five [pause],” and so on, for the rest of the wall and then again in the same manner for the three other walls. The scribe receives this information aurally in these set packages of information. Like the speaker, he is aware of the basic formulaic nature of this section of the text; unlike the speaker, however, he must organize these set packages in the context of many variables, which might include the location of his pen on the skin (he might be at the start or the end of a line or a column), the condition of the skin at the point of writing (there may be a blemish or imperfection), and the fact that he might not control the speed of the transmission of information. The net result is a scribe who is listening to and transcribing discrete packages of information without much time for thought — he wrote as he heard, and while each of these set packages contains the necessary data (none of the distance measurements in this section of the text appears to be missing critical information), the variations in the way in which what ought to have been identical formulae are articulated suggest that the scribe was reformulating and transcribing what he was hearing rather than mechanically copying from another text before him.

⁵⁶ An unlikely possibility, given the other characteristics described previously (corrections, errors, and *vacats*), which surely are the result of the scribe.

5. Line Lengths in the NJ

One common aid to reconstructing missing text is to calculate the average number of letter-spaces per complete line and then employ this figure as a guide to fill in lacunae.⁵⁷ Several problems, however, hamper and ultimately render invalid the simple mechanical tallying of the letter-spaces per line of what survives of the fragments 4Q554 1, 4Q554 2, and 4Q554a, which are by far the three largest 4QNJ fragments.⁵⁸ Accordingly, a more fruitful method than a simple counting of letter and spaces per given line of text is to determine the number of letter-spaces in a measured, shorter span of text.⁵⁹ When we do this, we discover that the average number of letter-spaces per 2.0 cm of text in 4Q554 1 is 11.7,

⁵⁷ We define the number of letter-spaces per line as the total of the number of letters in each word plus the number of spaces between words in each line. The letters *waw* and *yod* count as one letter each, not one-half of one letter each.

⁵⁸ First, although remains of over forty lines survive in three columns, only a slim few of the lines are complete or nearly complete. In other words, statistically there are not enough complete lines of text extant. Second, the orthography of 4Q554 is inconsistent. This is evident not only in the variant spelling of certain words (*i.e.*, יִסְאָר and יִסְר), but more importantly in the fact that numerals are sometimes expressed in cipher form and sometimes in dictionary form. Third, these cipher forms vary widely in size, from the tiny unit-ciphers that are no more than a thin vertical stroke, to the wide ciphers that represent units of 10 (—) and 100 (—), which can stretch across a span normally occupied by four or five letter-spaces. As an illustration of the discrepancies this variance in size can cause, even a nearly complete line such as 4Q554 1 ii 12 is less than twenty-five letter-spaces across, due primarily to the presence of cipher-form numbers. Fourth, the text is interrupted occasionally by brief *vacats* (see above, § 4, d) that do not occur at natural breaks in the description of the structures of the city. As a result, there is no way to be sure whether the missing text did not also contain several of these *vacats* (see, *e.g.*, our reconstruction at 4Q554 1 ii 15-20 and the Note on the Reading at that point).

⁵⁹ Taking randomly selected spaces of 2.0 cm widths (using the scale provided on PAM photographs) that begin from either the first or last letter of the column inwards, we find: 4Q554 1 i-ii, measuring from the first word of the column inwards (moving to the left), ii 11 (11 letter-spaces), ii 15 (12), ii 19 (11), ii 22 (12); 4Q554 1 i-ii, measuring from the last word of the column inwards (moving to the right), i 12 (12 letter-spaces), i 12 (11), i 16 (13), ii 8 (11), ii 11 (13), ii 16 (11); 4Q554 2 ii, measuring from the last word of the column inwards (moving to the right), ii 11 (12 letter-spaces), ii 15 (10), ii 16 (11), ii 17 (12), ii 22 (11); 4Q554 2 iii, measuring from the first word of the column inwards (moving to the left): iii 15 (11 letter-spaces), iii 16 (11), iii 17 (12), iii 18 (11), iii 19 (10), iii 20 (12). This 2.0 cm span either begins or ends at the edge of a column for control purposes. 4Q554 1 iii has been excluded from this particular exercise. As noted above, this column shows signs of distress, wherein the text on its left half seems to have been foreshortened somewhat. Similar distress is also seen at the extreme left top of 4Q554 1 ii, so the text there has also been excluded.

and in 4Q554 2 it is 11.2, with a combined average of approximately 11.4. Of course, this figure cannot be expected to serve as anything more than a rough guide, and one must expect that the margin of error increases with lacunae over 2.0 cm. That being said, one will observe that the values obtained of the raw data are not widely fluctuating,⁶⁰ but rather are uniformly close to the average figure of 11.4 letter-spaces, no matter which column from either fragment is tested.

This figure of 11.4 letter-spaces per 2.0 cm of text may be used to compute a hypothetical average number of letter-spaces per line of text, that is, a number which is not based on any specific measurements of actual lines and their number of letter-spaces. If we assume that the two “halves” of 4Q554 1 ii are correctly positioned in PAM 43.564 and also take into account the places where the skin seems to have been stretched, we observe that the width of the column varies from approximately 8.5 to 9.0 cm. Applying the average of 11.4 letter-spaces per 2.0 cm to this width, we arrive at a figure of around 48.5 to 51.3 letter-spaces per line of text.⁶¹ As for 4Q554 2 ii, the line-lengths here appear a bit shorter, measuring about 8.0 to 8.5 cm., or 45.6 to 48.5 letter-spaces per line of text.

In contrast, the average number of letter-spaces in 4Q554a per 2.0 cm of text is 13.4,⁶² or a full two letter-spaces more than the average of 11.4 letter-spaces of 4Q554. In addition, whereas the figure obtained for 4Q554 is derived from values that were all very

⁶⁰ See the previous note for the raw data.

⁶¹ This figure is confirmed by the text calculated by means of certain formulae to fit the lacuna between the end of column i and ii 5. See Note on the Reading at 4Q554 1 ii 1-5, below.

⁶² Measuring from the last word of the column inwards (to the right): line 1 (12 letter-spaces), 3 (16), 5 (14), 6 (12), 8 (13), 9 (13), 10 (15), 11 (13), 12 (11), 13 (15).

close to the 11.4 average, the values determined for 4Q554a fluctuate widely from the 13.4 average.

6. *The 4QNJ Fragments*

What follows is our working critical edition of the 4QNJ fragments: transcriptions, translations, and notes on the readings for 4Q554 1 i-iii, 4Q554a (to preserve the order of the text as indicated by the overlapping text of 5Q15 1 i-ii), 4Q554 2 i-iii (+ 4Q554 7, and followed by the related fragments 4Q554 6 and 4Q554 8), 4Q554 3, 4, and 5, and finally 4Q555.⁶³ In an appendix following this chapter we have included photocopies of CT PAM 41.940, CT PAM 43.564, and CT PAM 43.589, which among them reproduce all the 4Q554 and 4Q554a fragments except 4Q554 8, and a photocopy of PAM 43.610, which reproduces the 4Q555 fragments.

With respect to the transcriptions, we have not attempted to replicate precisely the spatial relationships among the letters, words, lines, and margins as they appear on the fragments themselves, although we have tried to reflect the positioning of these elements in a general fashion.⁶⁴ In the case where the 4Q text overlaps with text from 2Q24 or 5Q15, the

⁶³ The order of the columns of the *NJ* is discussed in detail in Chapter 2, §5, a.

⁶⁴ There are several problems that prevent the precise reduplication of the spatial arrangement of the elements: i) the relative size of the letters varies throughout 4Q554 (*e.g.*, compare the large terminal *taw* of ויית at 4Q554 1 i 16 with the small penultimate *taw* of ויית at 4Q554 1 i 17); ii) the relative size of the cipher-form numbers also varies (*e.g.*, compare the sizes of the ten-unit ciphers at 4Q554 1 ii 17 and 18); iii) 4Q554 contains unexpected vacats, both in the extant text (see, *e.g.*, 4Q554 1 i 11 and 17) and in the text as we have reconstructed it (see 4Q554 1 ii 16-20); iv) in cases where 4Q text is reconstructed by the application of expected formulaic phrases of distance measurement, the formulae do not always appear as expected (see the Introduction to the Notes on the Reading at 4Q554 1 i, below); and v) in cases where 4Q text is reconstructed with the help of overlapping text from other copies, the overlapping text is not always exactly parallel with the 4Q text. In the latter two cases, the reconstructed text is often more or less than that which is expected on the basis of the size of the lacuna, and efforts to situate correctly the elements of the extant text will sometimes produce lacunae and reconstructed text that do not match (see Notes to the Reading at 4Q554 1 i 17 and 19,

text it is transcribed according to orthography of the 4Q copy. Similarly, numbers are transcribed as they appear in the 4Q copy. Regarding the translations, we have adopted the following conventions in order to reproduce the sense of the text more faithfully: i) cipher-form numerals in the Aramaic are expressed in English as numerals, while dictionary-form numerals in the Aramaic are expressed as dictionary-form numerals in English; and ii) the phraseology of the distance formulae will be retained in the English (*e.g.*, 𐤒𐤁𐤓 𐤓 = “stadia: 24”).

below).

4Q554 1 i

- 09] שתתעשןר]••[]מא
- 10] ותה וכלהון מבינין דן
- 11] ומן זיתא]מדנחא די vac בצפונא
- 12] ומן דא זיתא משח עד תרעא]ראסין תלתין וחמשה ושם
- 13]תרעא דן קרין לה תרע]שמעון ומן תרעא דן ענד]ותרעא מציעא
- 14]משח ראסין תלתין וחמשה ו]שם תרעא דן די]קרין לה תרע
- 15]לוי ומן תרעא דן משח עד תרעא ד]רומא ראסין תלתין וחמשה
- 16]ושם תרעא דן קרין לה תרע ומן]תרעא דן משח עד זית
- 17]די דרומא ראסין תלתין וחמשה ו]מן vac זיתא דא למערכא
- 18]משח עד תרעא רסין 3 וווו ושם תרעא דן]קרין לה תרע יוסף
- 19]ומן תרעא דן משח עד תרעא מציעיא ראסין 3 וז ושם
- 20]תרעא דן קרין לה תרע ומן תר]עא דן משח עד תרעא
- 21]ראסין 3 וווו ושם תרעא דן קרין לה]תרע ראובן ו]מן תר]עא דן
- 22]משח עד זיתא די מערבא ראסין 3 וווו ו]מן דא זיתא משח עד

Translation

9. ...]sixtee[n]••[]m'
10. ...]th; and all of them are different from
11. ... And from] the East [corner] that is vac to the North
12. [And from this corner he measured up to the gate,]stadia: thirty-five; and this
13. [gate is called the Gate] of Simeon. And from this gate up to the centre gate,
14. [he measured, stadia: thirty-five; and] this gate is called the Gate of

15. [Levi. And from this gate he measured to the gate to the S]outh, stadia: thirty-five;
16. [and this gate is called the Gate of . And from] this gate he measured up to the corner
17. [that is to the South, stadia: thirty five. And] from *vac* the corner that is to the West
18. [he measured up to the gate, stadia: 24; and this gate is called]the Gate of Joseph.
19. [And from this gate he measured up to the centre gate, stadi]a: 24; and this
20. [gate is called the Gate of . And from this ga]te he measured up to the gate,
21. [stadia: 24; and this gate is called]the Gate of Reuben. And [from] this [ga]te
22. [he measured up to the corner that is to the West, stadia: 24. And] from this corner he measured up to

Notes on the Reading and Reconstruction of the Text

The section of 4Q554 1 from column i, line 11 to column ii, line 10 describes the wall and gates of the New Jerusalem. Since this description is without parallel in the other *NJ* copies, any reconstruction will have to be made by virtue of the internal evidence of 4Q554 1 alone.⁶⁵ Although half of column i and a fair amount of the upper portion of column ii is not extant, and despite the fact that virtually nothing is preserved of the description of the West wall and its gates, enough text is available for the purposes of reconstructing the text. Facilitating the task of restoration is the nature of the subject matter — a description of twelve gates set around a rectangular-shaped wall ensures that there is at least the potential for formulaic repetition, if not (as we have already observed) on the levels of phrase and diction. For these reasons most editions and translations of this section of the *NJ* have reconstructed the text to a greater or a lesser degree.

Three elements are of potential import to the issue of the degree to which this section of the *NJ* may be reconstructed with confidence: i) the extent to which the surviving portions

⁶⁵ 4Q554 3 (= J 5, 30), which some situated before 4Q554 1 (*cf.* CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*), does not seem to be part of the description of the named gates of the wall. On this fragment, see its presentation below.

of the description of the city wall and its gates are presently *formulaically* and, following from this, the extent to which these formulae may be employed to bridge lacunae in the text; ii) the periodic notations of compass direction, which also might be formulaically presented; and iii) the names of these gates, which, although these names are only partially preserved in the *NJ*, are perhaps paralleled in the lists of the named gates in other, more completely preserved expressions of the New Jerusalem or New Temple.

- With respect to the formulaic nature of the portrayal of the wall and gates, we note that each of the four walls of the city is described by means of four distinct measurements: i) from one corner of the wall to its first named gate; ii) from the first named gate to the centre named gate; iii) from the centre named gate to the third named gate; and iv) from the third named gate to the other corner. Thus there are sixteen potential measurements in total (not all of which are preserved), four measurements for each of the four walls of the city.

The description of each of these sixteen measurements has two distinct elements: i) a measurement from the “departure” feature to the “destination” feature, and ii) the actual naming of the “destination” feature, that is, the named gate. The only break in the pattern involves the four measurements that detail the distance from the third gate of each wall to the corner; in these cases the second element of the description is lacking because its “destination” feature (the corner) lacks a specific name.

Examining the sixteen potential examples of first element of the description (the measurement from the “departure” feature to the “destination” feature), we find that there is much variation in the manner in which this element of the description of the walls and gates is expressed. If the “departure” feature is a gate, then the underlying formula appears

to be [length] + תרעא דן משח עד תרעא ראסין. There are many small variations, however, not excepting that in one out of four instances the “departure” feature is a corner rather than a gate. Sometimes the verb משח appears in a different position (see, e.g., 4Q554 1 i 13). In addition, while the phrase תרעא מצייעיא is used to indicate the span leading up to the centre gate, the fullest possible phrase in which these words occur is not always consistently present (see, e.g., 4Q554 1 i 19, ii 2, ii 6-7).

There is less variation in the twelve possible instances of the second element of the description (*i.e.*, the naming of the “destination” three times over four walls). When charted, we observe that the basic formula seems to be “[named gate] + תרעא דן קרין לה תרע + ושמ,” although there are some minor variations. Depending on the name of the gate, this formula extends for approximately twenty-seven to thirty-two letter-spaces, which, barring minor *vacats*, translates to perhaps 5.0 to 5.5 cm of text. Once we leave aside the gaps in the description of the west wall, there is no question that the use of this formula to restore text spans the other relevant lacunae in columns i and ii very well.⁶⁶

- We may be brief regarding the issue of the notation of compass direction. At certain places in the description of the walls and named gates the compass direction is explicitly indicated (4Q554 1 i 11, 15, 17, 17 (*bis*), 22, 4Q554 1 ii 5, 9). Four of these instances occur at set points where a wall ends at a specific corner (4Q554 1 i 17, 22, 4Q554 1 ii 5, 9; see the Note on the Reading at 4Q554 1 i 16-17), one is meant to specify exactly where the tour begins (4Q554 1 i 11; see Note on the Reading *ad loc.*), and one is probably meant to reiterate the direction of the tour (4Q554 1 i 15). The final notation (4Q554 1 i 17

⁶⁶ Indeed, the only surprise is at column ii, line 6, where the trace of the *nun* is unlikely to be from the phrase תרעא דן קרין לה תרע דן (שמ) (see the Note on the Reading at 4Q554 1 ii 6).

(*bis*)) is the anomaly, and indicates a compass direction at a spot in a wall that extends from the corner to the first gate in that wall. It might be that this extra notation was simply a reiteration that the description of the wall was to proceed in a clockwise fashion.

- With respect to the question of the named gates and the issue of whether other lists of named gates may be employed to help restore the names of the gates in the *NJ* that have not been preserved, we need to anticipate some of the conclusions we will reach in Chapters 2 and 3. Lists of named gates that are set in walls (city walls or otherwise) are not common in the biblical or the extra-biblical literature, and in fact appear only five times: at Ezek 48:31-34, the *NJ* (4Q554 1 i 11 -ii 10), the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19 xxxix 12-16 and again at 11Q19 xl 11 - xli 11), and the *Reworked Pentateuch* (4Q365a 2 ii). All four texts are expressions of what we will identify in Chapter 2 as the “monumental” type of the New Jerusalem or New Temple, that is, the sort of expression of the future-time Jerusalem or Temple that is characterized by the enormous size of the city or the Temple and by the blueprint-like quality of the attention to detail paid to the measurements and design features of the city’s structures.

The list of the twelve gates of the *NJ*, each one named after one of the twelve tribes of Israel, exhibits what would appear to be a different order than the lists preserved in these other texts. This difference is clear from the information presented in Table IV, where the roster of named gates in the various lists are as follows:

Table IV. Named Gates in the Biblical and Extra-Biblical Literature

	<i>Ezek 48:31-34</i>	<i>4Q554 1 i-ii</i>	<i>11Q19 xxxix</i>	<i>11Q19 xl/xli</i>	<i>4Q365a 2 ii</i>
<i>East North</i>	Joseph	Simeon	Simeon	Simeon	<i>missing</i>
<i>East Centre</i>	Benjamin	[Levi]	Levi	Levi	<i>missing</i>
<i>East South</i>	Dan	<i>missing</i>	Judah	Judah	<i>missing</i>
<i>South East</i>	Simeon	Joseph	Reuben	<i>missing</i>	<i>missing</i>
<i>South Centre</i>	Issachar	<i>missing</i>	Joseph	<i>missing</i>	<i>missing</i>
<i>South West</i>	Zebulon	Reuben	Benjamin	Benjamin	<i>missing</i>
<i>West South</i>	Gad	<i>missing</i>	Issachar	Issachar	<i>missing</i>
<i>West Centre</i>	Asher	<i>missing</i>	Zebulon	Zebulon	Zebulon
<i>West North</i>	Naphtali	<i>missing</i>	Gad	Gad	Gad
<i>North West</i>	Reuben	[D]an	Dan	Dan	Dan
<i>North Centre</i>	Judah	Naphtali	Naphtali	Naphtali	Naphtali
<i>North East</i>	Levi	Asher	Asher	Asher	Asher

All the lists proceed in a clockwise fashion around the points of the compass. The list in Ezekiel 48⁶⁷ is the one that immediately stands out from the rest by virtue of its order of named gates and by the fact (not apparent in Table IV) that whereas it begins with the named gates in the north wall, the other lists all begin with the named gates in their east walls. As for the list in the *NJ*, despite the lack of the full roster and contrary to the assertions of

⁶⁷ The list of tribes at Ezek 48:1-29, which describe the dispensation of the land, is also different. But the list here is formulated from a central point outward in two directions, thereby establishing clear status for each tribe based on its proximity to the Temple. This priority of place is only partially evident in a schema that arranges the names of the tribes around a central point; we might say, for example, that the East Centre gate, opening to the Temple, is the most important, and the other two eastern gates secondarily so, but by what criteria can we rank the difference between, for instance, the West North gate and the North West one?

some,⁶⁸ we observe that the order of the gates in 4Q554 is *not* the same as the order as recorded in the *Temple Scroll*. As for the *Reworked Pentateuch*, the full list of its named gates was probably the same as the lists of named gates of the *Temple Scroll*.⁶⁹

Although we will discuss the issue of the relationship among the *NJ*, the *Temple Scroll*, and the *Reworked Pentateuch* in far more depth in Chapter 3, we must note here that none of the lists in Table IV is paralleled in any of the lists of the tribes in the biblical literature or the Jewish and Christian extra-biblical writings of Second Temple times. As P.J. RASK demonstrates, there are over fifty complete and partial lists of the tribes in this literature.⁷⁰ What is surprising is that of the twenty-eight lists of tribes that are found in the Hebrew Bible, only one is repeated twice, and of the twenty-three lists in the extra-biblical literature, eleven are unique.⁷¹ Dissimilarity among these lists is by far the normal pattern, not the exception. Moreover, the discrepancy between any two lists need not always be

⁶⁸ *Contra* WISE, *Temple Scroll*, 78-79, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "Future Temple," 185. In a more recent publication WISE corrects himself ("New Jerusalem Texts," 741-745 at 744).

⁶⁹ Not only are the five named gates extant in 4Q365a 2 ii precisely the same as those in the corresponding places in the order of the gates in the *Temple Scroll*, but it is almost certain that the structure in which the named gates of 4Q365a 2 ii is set is in actuality the wall of the outer court of the Temple complex, which is the same structure described at 11Q19 xl-xli, *i.e.*, one of the two places that contains the *Temple Scroll's* list of named gates. We can assume this last point on the basis of several correspondences regarding i) the order of gates in the extant text of both documents; ii) the distances between the gates in the structures, which in both documents is 360 cubits; and iii) the architectural details that follow the list of named gates, which in both documents are concerned with nearly identical details about the gates themselves.

⁷⁰ For recent literature on the various lists of the Twelve Tribes in Hellenistic and Roman times, see A.S. GEYSER, "Jesus, the Twelve, and the Twelve Tribes in Matthew," *Neotest* 12 (1978), 1-19; *idem*, "The Twelve Tribes in Revelation. Judean and Judeo-Christian Apocalypticism," *NTS* 28 (1982), 388-399; and S. PINES, "Notes on the Twelve Tribes in Qumran, Early Christianity, and Jewish Thought," *Messiah and Christos. Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity Presented to David Flusser on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (edd. I. GRUENWALD, *et alii*; TSAJ 32; Tübingen, 1992), 151-154. See the lists in J.P. RASK, "The Lists of the Twelve Tribes of Israel," Diss: Catholic University of America, 1990 (an invaluable source-book and study). RASK's work does not include the lists in the *Reworked Pentateuch* and the *NJ*, of which he was unaware at the time of his writing [personal correspondence].

⁷¹ RASK, "Lists," 607-614.

dramatic: in a number of cases it is limited to the way in which one list differs from the other in the matter of only one, two, or three out of the twelve names.

Accordingly, we should not make too much of the *prima facie* similarities between the list of named gates of the *NJ* and the list that is reflected in both the *Temple Scroll* and the *Reworked Pentateuch*. As it is, the *NJ* preserves, in whole or in part,⁷² the names of six out of the twelve possible gates; in addition, we have good reason to reconstruct the name of a seventh gate, the Gate of Levi (4Q554 1 i 14-15).⁷³ Of these seven names, two are different from the named gates in the same place in the roster in the *Temple Scroll / Reworked Pentateuch* list. Furthermore, Table IV confirms that the name of the South Centre gate in the *NJ* cannot be the same as the name of the gate located in this position in the *Temple Scroll / Reworked Pentateuch* list. In light of the fact that the preserved portions of the lists of the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll / Reworked Pentateuch* are not precisely the same,⁷⁴ and recognizing that there exists a tendency towards dissimilarity among such lists of the tribes in general, we conclude that there is no guarantee that the name of any one gate missing in the list in *NJ* would be the same as that which is preserved in the same spot in the

⁷² The one named gate that we have reconstructed on the basis of partial evidence is יְיָ דְּלֵוִי. On this gate and on our reconstruction, see the Note on the Reading at 4Q554 1 ii 6.

⁷³ On this reconstruction, see the Note on the Reading *ad loc.*

⁷⁴ If the variation between the list of the named gates in the *NJ* and the list of the named gates in the *Temple Scroll / Reworked Pentateuch* is limited to the order of the names within the context of each wall (*i.e.*, the three names in the East, South, West, and North walls are the same in both lists, but the order of the gates in each of these walls in each list is different), then we would be able to reconstruct (in the *NJ*) the name of Judah as the East South gate and the name of Joseph as the South Centre gate. We could not, however, reconstruct the names of the gates in the West wall of the *NJ*. But there is nothing to prove that the variation in the lists is in fact limited to the order of the names in each three-gate grouping.

Temple Scroll / Reworked Pentateuch roster of named gates.⁷⁵ For this reason we decided not to include the names of the missing gates in our reconstruction of 4Q554 1 i-ii.

9. On the numbering of the lines in this column, see the Note on the Reading at 4Q554 1 ii [1]-5.

9. אַלפּ []. The *aleph* is clear enough from CT PAM 43.564, with the *mem* likely. Only the final stroke of the *aleph* is visible in PAM 41.940. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE* read אַלפּ[ר]בד, which certainly fits the context but is materially impossible; of the trace of the first letter there is little remaining, but what exists does not appear to be the foot of a *bet*. BEYER, *ATM 2* suggests אַלפּ[ר], as does CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*.

10. אַתּה []. So GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE* and BEYER, *AATM 2*, although EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU* and CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll* read אַתּה []. A *taw* seems a far more probable reading than a *nun*.

10. וּכְלֵהוּן מִבֵּינֵי דָן. The subject of these words is unclear, as is whether they have any relationship to the “sixteen” of the previous line or the subject matter of 4Q554 3 (= J 5, 30), if indeed this fragment ought to be considered a piece of 4Q554 1 i. On this possibility, see the “Notes on the Readings and reconstruction of the Text” for 4Q554 3 (= J 5, 30), below.

11. אֵינִי מְדַנְחָא דִּי בַצְפוֹנָא *vac*. The extra notation of direction is essential here, because it is the starting-point of the “tour” round the city walls. Since the city is rectangular-shaped, the corner at which the tour starts needs to be identified as the East corner that is to the North, to distinguish it from the East corner that is to the South. Note that at 4Q554 1 i 15 we find another place containing an extra notation of direction (“the gate to the South”), this one reiterating the direction of the tour.

11. מְדַנְחָא. So GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*; EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU* מְדַנְחָא (which could be a printing error).

11. There is *vacat* of perhaps 0.5 cm separating אֵינִי and בַצְפוֹנָא.

11. בַצְפוֹנָא. So GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, and BEYER, *AATM 2*; כַצְפוֹנָא: so EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*.

12. אַרְסִין []. The subject matter of the fragment makes the reading sure, despite only a hint of the *resh* and the top half of a terminal *nun*. אַרְסִין appears here and at 4Q554 1 i 15, 19; אַרְסִין at 4Q554 1 ii 7, 9.

13. EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU* read אַרְסִין מְצִיעֵי עַד תַּרְעֵא on the basis of PAM 41.940, which lacks a small fragment in the middle of this line that was placed there by the time that PAM 43.564 was

⁷⁵ With the exception of the Gate of Levi (4Q554 1 i 14-15) and the Gate of Dan (4Q554 1 ii 6), the latter a partial reconstruction. On what this lack of correspondence between the two lists of named gates means with respect to the matter of the relationship between the three texts, see Chapter 3, §2.

taken.

13. וּמִן תִּרְעַצ דָּן. Note that there is no room across this lacuna for the expected verb that appears time and again throughout the section 4Q554 1 i 11 to ii 10; as with GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, we have reconstructed it at the beginning of the next line.

13. עַד [תִּרְעַצ]. The foot of the *taw* is barely visible.

14. קַרִּין [קַרִּין]. CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*.

14-15. תִּרְעַצ לֵוִי. As was described in the introduction to 4Q554 1 i, throughout the reconstruction of 4Q554 1 i 11 - ii 10 we have resisted the automatic restoration of the names of missing gates in 4Q554 on the basis of the roster of named gates from the *Temple Scroll / Reworked Pentateuch*. There are two exceptions to this rule (here and with respect to the “Gate of Dan” at 4Q554 1 ii 6) and in both cases we have additional evidence that suggests that the name as recorded in the list of the *Temple Scroll* might have been reflected in the list of the *NJ*.

In the case here at 4Q554 1 i 14-15, it is clear that the application of the distance formulae to reconstruct line 15 leaves room for only a very short name. If this is correct, the only options are the short names “Levi” or “Gad.” A second point concerns the orientation of the city of the *NJ*. The Temple of Ezekiel 40-48 faces east (Ezek 43:4), and in Chapter 2 (§6) we argue that it seems more likely than not that the city of the *NJ* was oriented to the east as well. If this is the case, and it is true that the *NJ* may have been composed in priestly circles (see the Conclusion), then perhaps the centre gate of the East wall might have been the “gate of Levi.” As a result, in light of these considerations and of the place of “Levi” in the list of named gates in the *Temple Scroll / Reworked Pentateuch*, the restoration of “Levi” here at 4Q554 1 i 15 seems justified.

15. דַּלְוִימָא. EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU* read לְדַרְוִימָא, but the letter prior to the *vav* is just barely visible on CT PAM 43.564.

16-17. זֵית דִּי דְרוּמָא רַאסִין תִּלְתִּין וְחַמְשָׁה. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE* and BEYER, *ATM 2* reconstruct the rather cumbersome בְּדְרוּמָא דִּי מְדַנְחָא זֵית, perhaps on the basis of the extra notations of direction at 4Q554 1 i 11 and i 15. We are not so sure, for two reasons: i) these extra notations invariably involve one compass direction, not two (see the phrase זֵית דִּי מְדַנְחָא at 4Q554 1 ii 9); and ii) given the predilection of 4Q554 1 for unexpected *vacats*, it is not essential that the extra space towards the left margin (or, just as likely, before the phrase זֵית דִּי מְדַנְחָא *vac* [ו]) be completely filled by text, although we at least expect the name of the gate. Note that of the four possible places where a wall ends at a corner and this extra direction of travel is specified, only the instance at 4Q554 1 ii 9 (the corner that is to the East) is extant; the other three directions (4Q554 1 i 16-17, i 22, and 4Q554 1 ii 4-5) have to be reconstructed.

17. זֵית דִּי מְדַנְחָא *vac* [ו]. The *mem* is clear enough. There is a lacuna in the fragment at this point (this is clearest from PAM 41.940), but enough skin remains to indicate a *vacat* of roughly 0.5 cm. Note the form זֵית דִּי מְדַנְחָא is attested at 4Q554 1 ii 22 and reconstructed at 4Q554 1 i 12 and 4Q554 1 ii 5, although of course in both the reconstructed forms the phrase could have been worded as it appears here.

18. תרע. CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll* תרעא ראסי.]

19. [ומן תרעא דן משח עד תרעא מציעיא ראסי] 3 וו. This is the “fullest” reconstruction, as we also have reconstructed at 4Q554 1 ii [1]-[2]; the formula could, however, be read in the shorter form [length] + ומן תרעא דן משח עד מציעיא, as we have at 4Q554 1 ii 6-7. The text in the reconstruction in the two latter examples might be too short for the line — and hence our preference at this point for a variation of what appears at 4Q554 1 13 — but a sudden *vacat* in the text here is not unexpected. On the possibility of the “shorter” formula appearing at this point, note also that the spacing among the letters might be greater in this portion of the text than elsewhere; the spacing between the words in the extant portion of 4Q554 1 i 19, in particular, is clearly greater than the spacing in evidence in the preserved section of (for example) 4Q554 1 i 14 and 15. Greater spacing, therefore, might indicate that the shorter formula was once extant.

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE* indicate missing text at this point, while CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, suggests: 25 [ומשח מן תרעא דן למערבא עד תרעא מציעיא ראסי].

19. מציעיא. This word is reconstructed here and at 4Q554 1 ii 2 on the basis of the orthography of the word at 4Q554 1 i 7.

19. 3 וו. ראסי]. As written, this measurement is indisputably “rods: 24,” not “rods: 25.” But everyone else reads this number as “25:” MILIK, *DJD III*, 185, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, and BEYER, *AATM 2* all read 25 [רסי] (and translate it thus), and the number “twenty-five” is also part of the arguments of BROSHI, “Architecture,” 12-13, PUECH, “JN,” 98-99, J. FREY, “Contexts,” and D. AUNE, “Qumran and the Book of Revelation,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment*, edd. P.W. FLINT and J.C. VANDERKAM, with the assistance of A.E. ALVAREZ (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 1999), 2.622-648. EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU* read 25 [רסי] (*i.e.*, = [stadi]a: 24), but their translation reads “twenty-five [re]s.” The question is which of the two numbers is the correct one.

Although the number “twenty-five” is universally substituted in scholarship on the *NJ* for the number “twenty-four,” the reasons for the substitution are not made explicit. The view that the scribe of 4Q554 1 mistakenly wrote “rods: 24” when he actually meant “rods: 25” is potentially supported by three arguments:

i) In the section on number orthography and palaeography in the introductory portion of this chapter, we observed not only that the scribe of 4Q554 is not immune from either erasure or error, but the manuscript also exhibits numerous signs of what we understood to be sloppiness. At 4Q554 1 ii 18, for example, the scribe mistakenly writes אמינ and has to erase the word. More to the point, in the same line he mistakenly writes “rods: 17” for the “rods: 18” that is demanded both by the overlapping 5Q text and by the corresponding amount of cubits indicated. It is not inconceivable, then, that this scribe simply made another error when he wrote the number “24.”

ii) By its very nature, there is always a great amount of regularity present in the planned, orthogonic city, including the relationship among the walls, gates, internal structures like streets and buildings, and so on. Such regularity is only possible through clever manipulation of the dimensions of the city and its structures.

Square cities and temples naturally have an advantage in this regard, since walls of equal length and breadth naturally accommodate regular design features, such as defensive towers along the walls or blocks of houses inside the city, for example. Rectangular walls pose more of a problem, since it is clear that the more divisors that the dimensions of each share, the more accommodating the walls will be to these regular design features. The numbers twenty-five and thirty-five (the latter being the distance between the gates and between the corners and the gates in the East and the West walls) have many more divisors common to them than do the numbers twenty-four and thirty-five, which in fact have no divisors greater than one that are common to them. The general point is that a structure of dimensions 100 (25 x 4) by 140 (35 x 4) stadia would hypothetically make far more sense as a planned city containing regular design features than would a structure of dimensions 96 (24 x 4) by 140 stadia. In the former, the common divisors are 2, 4, 5, 10, and 20; in the latter they are 2 and 4 only.

iii) Most editions partially reconstruct the number of towers along the city wall as 1,432 (4Q554 2 ii 15-16). This is a number that seems to fit a city wall of dimensions 100 by 140 stadia.

In our view, however, these three reasons are suspect:

i) Most importantly, the measurement of “rods: 24” appears again at 4Q554 1 ii 10 (the example at 4Q554 1 ii 6 is ambiguous, since only the final three unit-ciphers are preserved). While it is entirely possible that the scribe of 4Q554 made one error, it is less possible that he made two errors, and even far less likely that both “errors” were the same value, *i.e.*, “rods: 24.” The natural reading of the text, supported by these two clear examples and without a single example to suggest otherwise, is that the scribe of 4Q554 meant to write “rods: 24.”

ii) While it is true that 100 (25 x 4) by 140 (35 x 4) stadia would hypothetically make far more sense as a planned city containing regular design features than would a structure of dimensions 96 (24 x 4) by 140 stadia, this position is unsupported by the nature of the actual measurements of the internal features of the *NJ*. So many of the preserved or reconstructed measurements are either multiples of seven (a divisor of neither 96 nor 100) or, more often, are odd dimensions (like 126 cubits (4Q554 1 ii 18), sixty-seven cubits (4Q554 1 ii 20), thirteen rods (4Q554 1 ii 21), thirteen cubits (4Q554 1 iii 15), and nineteen cubits (4Q544a line 7)) with little or no connexion at all with the external dimensions of the city.

iii) We have grave doubts that the number of towers along the city wall was indeed 1,432 (see the note on the Reading at 4Q554 2 ii 15-16).

In conclusion, it is our contention that there is no convincing reason to assume that the scribe of 4Q554 mistakenly wrote “rods: 24” when he actually meant “rods: 25.”

22. מִשַׁח נִיָּתָא מִשַׁח נִיָּתָא מִשַׁח נִיָּתָא. EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, and BEYER, *AATM 2* all read it as such, likely on the basis of the (partially reconstructed) phrase at line 16. At first glance the letter preceding the נִיָּתָא seems like the left stroke of a *shin*, but upon close examination it is clear that the terminal *nun* and the left portions of the *min* have merged. On the phrase מִשַׁח נִיָּתָא

NT, see the Note on the Reading at 4Q554 1 i 17.

4Q554 1 ii

Overlapping text: 2Q24 T 5Q15 1 i 1-6

- [01] [תרעא ראסין תלתין וחמשה ושם תרעא דן קרין לה תרע ומן]
- [02] [תרעא דן משח עד מציעיא תרעא רסין תלתין וחמשה ושם תרעא דן]
- [03] [קרין לה תרע ומן תרעא דן משח עד תרעא רסין תלתין וחמשה]
- [04] [ושם תרעא דן קרין לה תרע ומן תרעא דן משח עד זיתא די]
- 05 [צפונא רסין תלתין וחמשה ומן דא זיתא משח עד תרעא ר]אסין
- 06 [3 ו]ו ושם vac תרעא דן קרין לה תרעא דן ומן תרעא דן משח עד]
- 07 מציעיא רסין] 3 ו]ו ושם תרעא דן קרין] לה תרע נפתלי מן דן
- 08 תרעא משח עד תרעא • vac רא]סין] 3 ו]ו ושם תרעא דן קרין
- 09 לה תרע vac אשר ומשח מן תרעא דן עד זית די מדנחא רסין
- 10 3 ו]ו vacat
- 11 ואעלני לנוא קריתא ומןשח פר]זיתאן • אורכא ופתיא קנין
- 12 33 — 1 ב 33 — T מרבעה סןחר סחר] • אמין 3 ו]ו — 33 =
- 13 13 ו]ו ולכל רוח ושבק סחר סחר לפראיתא ברית שוק קנין
- 14 תלתה אמין 3 ו]ו [א]חאיני משח]ת פראיא כלהן בין פראא לפראא
- 15 שוק פתה קנין שתה [אמין] 33 [11] vac ושקיא רברביא די נפקין
- 16 מן מדנחא למער]בא vacat קנין ע]שרה פתי שוקא אמין
- 17 333 — 11 מנהון ות]ליתיא vacat [די על ש]מאל מקדשא משח
- 18 קנין אמין — 11 פתיה] vacat [אמין] 3 ו]ו ופתי
- 19 שוקיא די נפקין מן דרון]מא vacat לצפונא 11 מנהון קנין 11 ו]ו

20 ואמין וז לשוק חד לאמין vac 333 וּמְצִיעָא דִּי מִצְיַעַת

21 קריתא משח פתיה קנין — וּמְצִיעָא דִּי מִצְיַעַת 333 —

22 וכל שוקא וקריתא רציפין באבן חור •• ••

Translation

1. [the gate, stadia: thirty-five; and this gate is called the Gate of . And from]
2. [this gate he measured up to the centre gate, stadia: thirty-five; and this gate is]
3. [called the Gate of . And from this gate he measured up to the gate, stadia: thirty-five;]
4. [and this gate is called the Gate of . And from this gate he measured up to the corner that is]
5. [to the North, stadia: thirty-five. And from this corner he measured up to the gat]e, s[ta]dia:
6. [2]4; and[vac this gate is called the Gate of D]an. And from [this] gate [he measured up to]
7. the centre, stadia: [24; and]th[is gate is ca]ll[ed] the Gate of Napht{ali}. From this
8. gate he measured up to the gate •[, sta]dia: 2[4]; and this gate is called
9. the Gate of vac Asher. And he measur[ed from this gate up to the corner that is to the East, stadia:
10. 24. vacat
11. And he led me to the interior of the city and he mea[sured the bl]ock[]• , length and width, rods:
12. 51 by 51 square, al[l around,] • cubits: 350
13. {plus} 7 on every side. And a peristyle {ran} [a]ll around the block, on the outside of the street, rods:
14. three, cubits: 21. Also, he [sh]owed me all the measur[emen]ts of the blocks: between one block and another,
15. {ran} a street; width, rods: six, [cubit]s: 4[2]. vac And {concerning} the great streets that run
16. from East to We[st, vacat rods: t]en {that is,} the width of the street, cubits:
17. 70, {concerning} 2 of them; but the th[i]rd, vac[at] which is to the left of the Temple, he measured,
18. rods: cubits: 17 in width[vacat] cubits:[12]6. And the width of
19. the streets that run from the Sou[th vacat to the North, {concerning} 2 of them, r]ods: 9
20. and 4 cubits each street; in cubit[s: vac 67; but the centre {street}, which is in the ce]ntre of
21. the city, he measured its width, rod[s: 13 and one cubit, in cubits: 9]2.
22. And all the streets and the city [were paved with white stone ...

Notes on the Reading and Reconstruction of the Text

This column contains the second half of the section 4Q554 1 i 11 - 4Q554 1 ii 10, where the wall of the New Jerusalem and its named gates are described, and also the beginning of the long section that extends from 4Q554 1 ii 11 through 4Q554 1 iii and to the middle of what remains of 4Q554a, with overlapping text from 5Q15 1 i-ii and (to a far lesser degree) 2Q24 1.⁷⁶ The subject of this long section is the interior design of the New Jerusalem: the gridiron pattern of the streets and blocks of houses (4Q554 1 ii) and the layout of the houses and associated structures (4Q554 1 iii and 4Q554a).

There are several minor differences in the presentation of 4Q554 1 ii in PAM 41.940 and PAM 43.564. At lines 11 to 14, 43.564 contains one or several small pieces (the precise number is unclear) that span a lacuna extant in the earlier photograph. Second, 43.564

⁷⁶ This note addresses the broad identification of the overlaps among 4Q554 1 ii-iii, 5Q15 1 i-ii, and 2Q24 1. 2Q24 1 consists of a number of smaller pieces joined by their editor, BAILLET. Three of these smaller pieces appear separately in PAM 40.558 (top middle, second from top; bottom left; and bottom right) and in BAILLET'S *editio princeps* ("Fragments," frs. 6, 7, and 9). As it is reconstructed, 2Q24 1 contains a few words from four lines of text that either span lacunae at or overlap portions of 4Q554 1 ii 12-16 and overlap portions 5Q15 1 i 1-2 (the text from 2Q24 1 line 1, if situated with respect to the preserved portion of 5Q15, would be from the end of the column preceding 5Q15 1 i). In the official edition (DJD III) the four very partial lines of text are reconstructed on the basis of the overlapping and surrounding 4Q and 5Q text, and this reconstruction is followed closely by GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE* and very loosely by BEYER, *ATM 1*.

5Q15 1 i-ii is very fragmentary. The two columns are best seen at PAM 42.320. Column i: at the top right of the photograph, with five or six pieces stretching across the top two lines of the column; at the middle right, a group of two small and one large piece, preserving portions of lines 3-5 and 17-19 (small pieces) and lines 15-19 (larger piece); and at the centre, two fragments nearly joined along a 45-degree clockwise split in the skin and preserving the left edge of column i (note that the lines here are not contiguous!) and the right edge of column ii. Column ii: the right edge previously noted; the main portion, covering the entire top left of the photograph, with most of the top of column ii down to line 9; and under this, the fragment containing the five lines of 5Q15 2. PAM 42.323 contains portions of 5Q15 1 i, 5Q15 1 ii, and other fragments. The 5Q15 1 ii fragments in this photograph all deal with the portion of text overlapping 4Q554a, not 4Q554. For our purposes, the important 5Q15 1 i fragments are: i) at the right edge of the photograph, about halfway down from the top, the large piece containing part of lines 7-11; ii) to the immediate left of no. i, the large piece containing part of lines 8-12; iii) to the immediate left of no. ii, the large piece containing part of lines 9-14; iv) to the lower right of no. iii, a small piece preserving part of lines 5-6; v) to the upper left of no. iv, a larger piece containing portions of lines 4-6; vi) the fragment at the bottom right of the photograph, with text from lines 11-14; and vii) the fragment directly between nos. i and vi, with a few words from lines 3-4. It is worth repeating that MILIK'S reconstruction of the two columns of 5Q15 1 involved his working with very fragmentary evidence and represents a triumph of scroll joinery.

includes a piece or pieces containing text from lines 7 and 8; again, this or these are missing in 41.940. Third, whereas in 41.940 the small piece in line 17 containing the letters נ׳ן is at a roughly thirty-degree acute angle to the horizontal and thus the gap between it and the left portion of the column is about 1.0 cm, in 43.564 the piece has been positioned along the proper horizontal axis and the gap now extends for at least 1.7 or 1.8 cm. (On all three minor differences, see the Notes on the Readings, *ad loc.*) Notice also a corresponding widening of the same vertical gap throughout the entirety of its length of column ii in 43.564.

Of note also is the foreshortened text at the left upper part of the column, a result of some unknown past stresses on the skin. The letters in these four or five abbreviated lines of text appear almost compressed, both in their relative size to the letters of the rest of the column and in the absolute average number of letter-spaces per 2.0 cm of text.⁷⁷ As a result, the v-shaped gap in the text at the top of the column is misleading, for it seems to indicate that only the left- and right- hand edges of the column are preserved. When we account for the foreshortening of the text, however, we understand that the gap is not as wide as it seems, which is further borne out by the reconstruction based on the formulae for describing the walls of the city.

[1]-5. The long lacuna is, with exception of the traces of a few letters in line 5, bounded by the preserved text of 4Q554 1 i 22 and the text that begins again at 4Q554 1 ii 6, which act as termini between which may be placed reconstructed text that is based on a set number of the established formulae. What emerges is an amount of text that seems to fit about five lines of text, based on the average number of letter-spaces per line previously ascertained for 4Q554 1. Note that the fit is not perfect, and no claim is made for the accuracy of the orthography and phraseology of the reconstruction, which, we have previously noted, is

⁷⁷ See the very nice, enlarged rendition of PAM 43.564 in STARCKY, "Jérusalem," 38, which plainly shows how the text, when mentally "smoothed out," would fill part of the lacuna.

quite inconsistent throughout 4Q554 1. At the same time, a reconstruction based on the use of the fullest possible orthography and the most complete distance formulae would not allow for a sixth line, and to posit any less than five lines would have required a drastic shortening of at least two (and probably more) of the distance formulae. Thus we arrive at the figure of twenty-two lines for 4Q554 1 ii. On the reliability of the figure of twenty-two lines, see also the Note on the Reading at 4Q554 1 iii [1]-[11], below.

EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU* and GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE* do not explicitly reconstruct the top of the column, while BEYER, *AATM* 2, and CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, do. We will examine each of these reconstructions in turn.

Our line 10 is reserved for the line that contains only the number \forall 3 followed by a column-wide *vacat* (see Notes to the Reading at 4Q554 1 ii 9-10 and 10, below). This is substantially the same line arrangement as presented by EISENMAN/WISE.

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR seem to *assume* a reconstruction: their 4Q554 1 ii has eleven lines inclusive to the *vacat* at our line 10, and it could be that they had some sort of reconstituted text in mind when they reckoned their line numbers. Alternately, they might have been following the line numbers assigned in the *Preliminary Concordance* (cf. 2047, qv. יִדְר), where its lines 8-10 correspond to our lines 7-9. Whatever the case, 4Q554 1 ii in GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, has twenty-three lines, while ours has twenty-two. Two further elements that might have influenced their reconstruction of this column ought to be mentioned at this point. First, a simple visual comparison of 4Q554 1 columns i and iii with column ii seems to indicate that column ii has one more line than do columns i and iii. Second, and perhaps on the basis of the visual discrepancy among the column lengths (his reasoning is not made explicit) PUECH has stated that 4Q554 is a scroll “qui portait soit 22, soit 23 lignes par colonne” (“JN,” 89, note 6). Again, though, we cannot be certain that GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR had these elements in mind when they assigned twenty-three lines of 4Q554 1 ii.

The number of lines per column of 4Q554 1 is not certain, however. The skin of column iii is very much warped by stress, and especially so at the place where the bottom of columns ii and iii meet, where the skin is contracted vertically. This warping has completely obscured the original position of column iii *vis-à-vis* column ii. In addition, the actual spatial discrepancy between columns i and ii is about half a line only, that is, the ultimate line of column i is level not with the penultimate line of column ii but rather with the interlinear space between the ultimate and penultimate lines, and this relationship is, with some exceptions, more or less maintained along the entire vertical length of both columns. For this reason we hesitate to assign an extra line to column ii, and since we conclude that column ii had twenty-two lines, we label the ultimate lines of both columns i and iii as line twenty-two and thus number the rest of the lines in both columns accordingly. We recognize, however, that it is of course still possible that columns i and iii had one less line than did column ii; in this case we would number the ultimate lines of columns i and iii as line 21. Since we cannot confidently reconstruct the top of either column i or ii, the problem is moot.

both the piece and the main fragment. If the phrase is sure, it provides the correct spacing for the phrase {לי} of line 7. Therefore, while shifting the piece might make good sense with respect to line 6 and the formulae for describing the walls and their gates at that point, it is undermined by the material evidence of line 7 and the reconstruction offered below.

6. CHYUTIN and BEYER read ושמ 25, while GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE* offer ושמ [2]5; the best photos of 4Q554 1 ii read ושמ [. EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU* suggest ושמ [3] 1, but just as with 4Q554 1 i 11 and ii 10, they translate “25 res.”

6. *vac* ושמ]. Most reconstructions include a blank space after the *mem*, but a space is not apparent on the best photographs. The *vacat* is added so as to normalize the line’s length with the lengths of the previous five lines, but (as we have noted time and again) the spacing among the words and letters of 4Q554 is very inconsistent and it is also possible that no *vacat* even existed here.

6. ושמ] *vac* תרעא דן קרין לה תרעא ד] וכן תרעא] דן משח עד. Note that the last phrase in this series appears only on the piece seen at PAM 43.564 (see “Note on the Reading” at 4Q554 1 ii 5-7, above).

Previous reconstructions:

- i) EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*: ושמ] תרעא דן קרין לה תרעא דן ומשח [דן עדתרעא :
- ii) BEYER, *ATM* 2: ושמ] תרעא דן קרין לה תרע] דן ומן תרעא [דן משח עד] <תרעא>
- iii) GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*: ושמ] תרעא דן קרין לה תרע ... [ומן תרעא :
- iv) CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*: ושמ] תרע דן קרין לה תרע] דן ומן תרעא [דן משח עד תרע]

Regarding EISENMAN/WISE, the *vav* is fairly clear in וכן, thus rendering the placement of the preceding verb unlikely. The two lines below also supports the view that the letter in question is a *vav*. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR are the most cautious, preferring to rely only on the more sure portions of the formula. As in many other instances, CHYUTIN’S reconstruction is basically the same as BEYER’S, and the inclusion of the word דן preceding וכן is justified in that a trace of the bottom of a terminal *nun* is perhaps visible at PAM 43.564.

There are several reasons why it is probable that the trace of the *nun* is what remains of the phrase ושמ] תרעא דן. First, the sequence [Da]n — Naphtali — Asher as named gates along the North wall of the structure being described in the text is certainly not impossible, given the sequence described in the North wall of structures in both the *Temple Scroll* and the *Reworked Pentateuch*. In the introduction to the “Notes on the Reading and Reconstruction” section of 4Q554 1 i we discussed the reasons why we are unwilling to replace arbitrarily the names of those gates not preserved in the *NJ* on the basis of the list in the *Temple Scroll* / *Reworked Pentateuch*. In this case, however, where a portion of the name itself has been preserved — be it only the barest portion of the name — we feel that recourse to this other list of named gates is justified. Second, while the lacuna between the two sections extant in this line might seem too large to be spanned by the formulaic ושמ] תרעא דן קרין לה תרעא ד], we must recall that i) the foreshortened text immediately following causes the lacuna to appear greater than it actually is, ii) the presence of small, unexpected *vacats*

9. תרע *vac* אשר. A *vacat* extends for approximately 0.8 cm. Is this an erasure?

9. ומש[ח מן תר]עא. See 4Q554 1 i 20 for the analogous phrase.

9. זייתא. EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU* {א}זייתא; CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, זייתא

9-10. רסינ 3 וז. Again, all the other editions read twenty-five stadia (EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU* transcribe IIII 3, but translate “twenty-five”). CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, does not consider the ciphers to form a separate line, but instead includes the phrase 25 ראסינ [*sic*] at the end of his column 16, line 10. On the lack of the *vacat* in CHYUTIN’S reconstruction, see above, in the Note to the Reading at 4Q554 1 ii [1]-5.

10. The *vacat* runs the full length of the rest of the line. Since this section is not paralleled in any other copy, there is no way to know whether the *vacat* is unique to 4Q554 or was present in all the *NJ* copies. That the *vacat* occurs at the transition between the end of the review of the outer walls of the city and the beginning of the description of the interior portions and structures of the city (לנוא קריתא) is probably significant. On a similar *vacat* at 4Q554a line 2 and the way that it separates two distinct sections, see the Note on the Reading at that line, below.

11. ומ[שח]. The *mem* is part of the piece appearing only at PAM 43.564 that helps bridge the vertical gap in the text that spans lines 11-14.

11. ומ[שח כל פר]זתא אורכא ופתיצ. EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*: ומ[שח פר]זיתא • אורכא ופתיא, but the first lacuna is probably too small to include the adjective. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE* ומ[שח פר]זיתא is a better fit, and suggest פר[זיתא] ברי[ת]. But what follows פר[זיתא] is very uncertain: on all the photographs, including the one in STARCKY, “Jérusalem,” the remains are indecipherable. There is a slight possibility that the trace is what remains of a *he*, but it does not seem a *taw*. In addition the gap between this letter and the extant text preceding does not appear to allow the length of the word reconstructed by GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR. Re ופתיא, BEYER, *ATTM*, reads ופתיא.

CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*: ומשח כל פרזיתא ופרזיתא אורכא ופתיא, a reading without reference to the lacunae in the text and totally divorced from the material evidence.

12. 33 — 1 ב33 — 1. חוד: 1: 1 2Q24. חמסון *vac* [חמסון]. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII, 316, note that the partial phrase [ת מאה וחמסין] appears at 11Q18 7 4, but posit that a connexion between this measurement and the one “to the blocks” that is found here is unlikely.

12. מרבעה ס]. This piece is evident in PAM 43.564 but not PAM 41.940, thus explaining how it could have been missed (but correctly reconstructed) by EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*.

12. • [ס]חר [ס]. Probably not [ס]חר [ס] (as we see in the 5Q15 text), since the form סחר appears in the next line. A trace of a letter follows the lacuna; this trace, while not so clear in PAM 41.940 or PAM 43.564, is in CT PAM 43.564 clearly a mark left by ink. Although this trace of a letter appears to be the tail of a terminal *nun* or a *kop*, we cannot imagine why such a letter would be placed here, especially given that it appears in the middle of a well-attested distance formula. It could be a casual mark or an erasure — for instance, the scribe might have written the first letter of קנין, realized that he had already expressed the

distance by means of rods, and then obliterated the *kop* and begun the correct word, אַמִּין. On a clear אַמִּין/קנין correction, see 4Q554 1 ii 18.

12. — 33. 5Q15 1 i 1 וְאִמְשׁוּן (so MILIK, DJD, III).

13. לַכֹּל. 5Q15 1 i 1 לַכֹּל.

13. וְשֵׁבַע. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*. On the translation of “peristyle” (MILIK, DJD III) versus “open space” (GREENFIELD, “Small Caves,”), see Chapter 2, note 253.

13. סוּחַר סוּחַר. 5Q15 1 i 1 סוּחַר סוּחַר (so MILIK, DJD III, FITZMYER/HARRINGTON, *MPAT*), but GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, perhaps more correctly, read סוּחַר סוּחַר. In 2Q24 1 the words are סוּחַר סוּחַר (so BAILLET, DJD III), but the portion of the fragment containing these words seems to be missing.

14. וְכֹדֶן. Even the CT PAM photographs do not reveal what letter follows the *waw*, although the overlapping text proves it is a *kop*. But the 4Q554 copy is very indeterminate at this point.

14. וְכֹדֶן אַחֲזִינִי [כֹּל מִשְׁחַת 3: 2Q24 1] אַחֲזִינִי [מִשְׁחַת] פְּרִיא כֹּל. Note 2Q24 1 3: [כֹּל מִשְׁחַת 3: 2Q24 1] (so BAILLET, DJD III), while 5Q15 1 i 2: אַחֲזִינִי מִשְׁחַת] וְכֹדֶן *vac* (so MILIK, DJD III). The 5Q text is especially difficult to read at this point, owing to the state of the text as witnessed in the PAM photographs, and we have had to rely on MILIK’S transcription.

15-20. The *vacats* in these lines are very uncertain with respect both to their appearance and, if present, their length, especially if the reconstructed cipher-numbers that fill many of the lacunae were instead dictionary-form numerals. At the same time, that at least one or two of these lines contained *vacats* is certain; see Notes on the Readings at the appropriate places, below. Moreover, and unless the 4Q554 1 ii used a radically different text from that preserved by the overlapping portions of 5Q15 1 i, and did so only in the places where the 4Q copy is missing, these *vacats* seem the best way to reconstruct the column.

15. [אִמִּין] 33. The lacuna in 4Q554 is filled by parallel text at 5Q15 1 i 2 and 2Q24 1 4, but the relative smallness of the space demands cipher-form numerals rather than the dictionary-form ones of the 5Q and 2Q copies. It is possible that the small piece of the 4Q copy containing the numeral (seen only at PAM 43.564) preserves the bottom portion of both twenty-unit ciphers.

MILIK’S reconstruction of the 5Q material throughout 5Q15 1 i 1-2 is a masterful work of fragment joinery; we need only to keep in mind that those two pieces in the top middle part of PAM 42.320 (see note 76, above) are not contiguous as they are positioned in the photograph.

As mentioned, 2Q24 1 is in actuality composed of a number of smaller pieces that were joined together by their editor, BAILLET. The piece containing the letters וְכֹדֶן אַחֲזִינִי, which fits into 4Q554 1 ii at line 14, above, contains the very top of a *lamed* directly under the terminal *nun* of the word וְכֹדֶן. This *lamed* is not noted by BAILLET, but our reading seems secure: the extant text of 2Q24 is written on ruled skin, and a measurement of the distance between the rules of lines 3 and 4 of another portion of the fragment provides the evidence that in this portion the letter under the *nun* could only be the top of a *lamed*. Simple triangulation of

the pieces reveals that a *lamed* once existed three to five letter-spaces (= a word or two) before the words of 2Q24 1 line 4. The problem is that neither the parallel 4Q or 5Q text at this point in the text contains words with a *lamed*. We can envision no answer to this seeming conundrum other than to question BAILLET'S reconstruction of 2Q24 1, but any new reconstruction of the fragment might require a theory to address why the apparently appropriately-placed overlaps with 4QNJ and 5QNJ should be discarded.

Disregarding the potential but perhaps minor problems raised by this *lamed* and the missing text at 2Q24 1 2 (see Note on the Reading at 4Q554 1 ii 13, above), and with reference to but not exactly a mirror of BAILLET'S own reconstruction at DJD III, we reconstruct 2Q24 1 thus:

[00] וואעלני לנוא קריתא ומשחן
 01 [פראזיטא אורכא ופתיא קנין חמשין וחוד ב]חמשין *vc* וחוד מרכאה
 02 [סחור סחור אמין תלת מאה וחמשין ושבע ולכל רוןח ושבק סחור סחור]
 03 [לפראזיטא ברית שוק קנין תלתא אמין עשרין וחודא] וכודן אחזינין כול משחת
 04 [פראזיטא כלהן בין פראזא שוק פתה קנין שתה אמין] ארבעין ותרתין

Note the spacing of the extant words and letters. Line 4 of the reconstruction is the last line of the column, and the phrase וואעלני ותרתין contains the last words in the column.

15. *vac*. This small space appears to be blank skin.

16. מן מדנחא. PAM 42.323 no. vii (see note 76, above)

16. מן מדנחא למער]בא *vacat* קנין. Positing a *vacat* (or an erasure) in this place seems the only explanation. 5Q15 1 i 3, at least as it has been reconstructed by MILIK, has space only for למערבא, but not all the pieces that constitute the line as so reconstructed are identifiable in the photographs, so (as we have with 5Q15 1 i 1-2) we are forced to rely at times solely on MILIK'S work. EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*, have this *vacat*, but GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, do not. The running text of CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, does not indicate his views on the material state of the text. See also Notes on the Reading at line 17 (|| מנהון — 333) below.

16. ע]שרה. This word is better seen at PAM 41.940 than at PAM 43.564.

16. פתי. 5Q15 1 i 3: פותי. CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, reads פותי; EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*, and BEYER, *ATM*, also פותי.

17. || מנהון — 333. 5Q15 1 i 3 מנהון. At first blush the cipher-numeral || — 333 seems as if it ought to be read as a whole, *i.e.*, “72.” But the first measurement of ten rods, the word מנהון, and the sense of what follows (where this pattern of describing two streets and then a third) all ensure that the translation is the correct one.

17. תל[יתיא. So also 5Q15 1 i 3, although the last few letters of this copy are very unclear. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, read תל[יתיא, but close inspection of the fragment tells us that the

first letter cannot be a *taw*. A very short but unmistakable blank spot in the skin follows.

17. ל[מא]ל על די על []. The distance between the ל[מא] and the phrase על די על depends on the photograph — in PAM 41.940 the small piece containing the letters ל[מא] is at a roughly 30-degree acute angle to the horizontal with respect to the left portion of the line and the gap is about 1.0 cm, while in PAM 43.564 the piece has been positioned along the proper horizontal axis and the gap extends for at least 1.7 or 1.8 cm. Unfortunately, 5Q15 1 i 4 provides no help in explaining what (if anything) might have filled the gap in 4Q554 1 ii. It is certainly possible that the lacuna might have contained a continuation of the *vacat* that appears after ל[מא].

18. אמני. A correction. Not included in the list of corrections of a similar type (*i.e.*, crossing out words with a horizontal line) in E. TOV, “Correction Procedures in the Texts from the Judean Desert,” *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (edd. D.W. PARRY and E. ULRICH; STDJ 30; Leiden/Boston/Köln, 1999), 232-263 at 247-251.

18. אמני — אמני. The text reads “rods cubits: 17,” not “rods cubits: 18.” We must assume scribal error here, based on the overlapping text at 5Q15 1 i 4, which, while very fragmentary, reads eighteen rods. Note also the corresponding measurement in cubits, which assumes a figure of eighteen rods. Both EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*, and GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, read eighteen rods, substituting the correct 5Q figure for the incorrect 4Q one.

18. פתייה. 5Q15 1 i 4: פותי.

18. אמני *vacat*. The *vacat* is indicated by the length of the restored text and the position of the portion of the text containing the top-most traces of אמני, which, when one accounts for the split in the skin to its upper left and extending up through lines 17 and 16, must be mentally situated approximately 1.0 cm to the left.

18. אמני [אמני]. 5Q15 1 i 4: שת[נ] ועשרי[ן] מא[ה] ועשרי[ן] [נ]שת. This reading validates 5Q15’s “18 rods” of the earlier part of this line, and because there is no way that the 5Q fragments could be arranged to read “119 cubits,” the “17 rods” of the 4Q copy must be a scribal error.

18. פתי. 5Q15 1 i 4: ופ[ו]ת[י], with all three letters uncertain.

19. מך דרוןמא *vacat* לצפונא. The phrase appears probable from the context, despite the missing text in both copies. Note again that our reconstruction allows for a *vacat*.

19. מנהון. The phrase is derived in part from its earlier manifestation at 4Q554 1 ii 17. Hypothetically, the cipher-form numeral reconstructed here could also be a dictionary-form numeral (as it is in 5Q15 1 i 5, though the writing on the fragments is very indistinct at this point), in which case the preceding *vacat* would need to be reduced.

19. קנין תש[ע]ה. 5Q15 1 i 5: קנין תש[ע]ה, with many letters partial or indistinct. CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, reads תשעא.

20. וּאֲמִין וּוּץ. 5Q15 1 i 5: וּאֲמִין אַרְבַּע, so MILIK, DJD III, with the *bet* superscripted (*i.e.*, a correction), although this is very unclear on the photograph of the fragment.

20. וּוּוּוּ 333 *vac* לְאֲמִין. 5Q15 1 i 5: אֲמִין שְׁתַּיִן וְשֶׁבַע. *אֲמִין*, the first word without a *lamed*. Note that if the 4Q copy contained dictionary-form numerals instead of cipher-form ones, the reconstructed *vacat* would be lost.

20. וּמְצִיעָא דִּי מְצִיעָת. MILIK, DJD III, וּמְצִיעָא, but the *waw* is not there on the skin, which runs continuously from the previous two words.

21. פְּתִיחָא. BEYER, *ATTM*, reads פְּתִיחָא, as also does CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*.

21. וּ — 333[3] לְאֲמִין. Regarding this number, EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*, read וּ — 333[3] וּאֲמִין and GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, read [92] לְאֲמִין. But a fragment containing most of the rest of the ciphers, missing from PAM 41.940, may be seen at PAM 43.564.

22. As we will note in Chapter 2, §5, a, on the order of the columns in the *NJ*, CHYUTIN asserts that the *NJ* had twenty-two lines to each of its twenty-two columns. One serious problem for which CHYUTIN fails to account is that his reconstruction of the text forces 4Q554 1 ii into a column of twenty-one lines.

22. שׁוּקָא. MILIK, DJD III, 5Q15 1 i 6: אֲיָשׁוּק, with the *yod* superscripted — evidently a correction. PAM 42.323 very unclear.

22. בּוּ בּוּ רַצִּיפִין בְּאֲבָן חוּר. The end of 5Q15 1 i 6. 5Q15 1 i lines 7-11 are fragmentary, and since we are missing the beginning of 5Q15 1 i 7, there is no way to tell what might have completed the text here at 4Q554 1 ii 22.

61 [מ]תגלגל מן המצות אשר עליו — וְלֵאמֹר לְעַמּוּנָהּ גֵּוֹן — 61
 81 [ל]אֲחֵי אֲבֹתָי לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ 81
 71 [ע]וֹלָדָי לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ 71
 91 אֲחֵי אֲבֹתָי לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ 91
 51 [ל]אֲחֵי אֲבֹתָי לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ 51
 41 [א]חֵי אֲבֹתָי לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ לְעַמּוּנָהּ 41
 31 [מ]תגלגל מן המצות אשר עליו — וְלֵאמֹר לְעַמּוּנָהּ גֵּוֹן — 31
 21 [מ]תגלגל מן המצות אשר עליו — וְלֵאמֹר לְעַמּוּנָהּ גֵּוֹן — 21
 11 [מ]תגלגל מן המצות אשר עליו — וְלֵאמֹר לְעַמּוּנָהּ גֵּוֹן — 11
 101 [מ]תגלגל מן המצות אשר עליו — וְלֵאמֹר לְעַמּוּנָהּ גֵּוֹן — 101
 60 [מ]תגלגל מן המצות אשר עליו — וְלֵאמֹר לְעַמּוּנָהּ גֵּוֹן — 60
 80 [מ]תגלגל מן המצות אשר עליו — וְלֵאמֹר לְעַמּוּנָהּ גֵּוֹן — 80
 70 [מ]תגלגל מן המצות אשר עליו — וְלֵאמֹר לְעַמּוּנָהּ גֵּוֹן — 70
 60 [מ]תגלגל מן המצות אשר עליו — וְלֵאמֹר לְעַמּוּנָהּ גֵּוֹן — 60
 50 [מ]תגלגל מן המצות אשר עליו — וְלֵאמֹר לְעַמּוּנָהּ גֵּוֹן — 50
 40 [מ]תגלגל מן המצות אשר עליו — וְלֵאמֹר לְעַמּוּנָהּ גֵּוֹן — 40
 30 [מ]תגלגל מן המצות אשר עליו — וְלֵאמֹר לְעַמּוּנָהּ גֵּוֹן — 30
 20 [מ]תגלגל מן המצות אשר עליו — וְלֵאמֹר לְעַמּוּנָהּ גֵּוֹן — 20
 10 [מ]תגלגל מן המצות אשר עליו — וְלֵאמֹר לְעַמּוּנָהּ גֵּוֹן — 10

Overlapping text: 4Q554a line 1 5Q15 I:15 - II:4

4Q554 I III

20 במשחת תרעא בתיא ועל שמאל מעלה דן אחזיגי בית דרג סחור וס[לל פ[תיה]

21 וארכה משחה חודה קנין תרין בתרין אמין ערבע עשרה ות[רעין לקבל תרעין]

22 במשחה ועמוד [בגוא [גוא די דרגא סחור וס[ק] עלוהי פתינה וארכה אמין]

Translation

1. [**rgy' w'* marble and jasper. *vacat* And he showed me]
2. [the measurements of the posterns. The width of the posterns, rods: two, cubits: fourteen]
3. [Each gate had two doors of stone. The width of each door]
4. [rod: one, cubits: seven. And he showed me the measurements of the twelve . The width of their gates,]
5. [rods: three, cubits: twenty-one Each gate had two]
6. [doors. The width of the doors, rod: one and one half, cubits: ten and one half]
7. [On the side of each gate are towers, one on the right and the other one on]
8. [the left. (As for) their width and their length, the measurements are the same, rods: five by five, cubits:
9. [thirty-five. And the staircase that ascended alongside the inner gate, to the right of the towers, is the same height as]
10. [the towers, its width, cubits: five. The towers and the staircases, rods: five by five]
11. [and five cubits, (that is) cubits: forty in each direction from the gate. And he showed me the measurements]
12. [the gates of the blocks, their width]h[,]r[od]s:[tw]o[, cubits: fourteen. *vacat*]
13. And the width of •[...]•y' their measurements, cubits: •[... And he measured the width of every vestibule,
14. rod[s: 2,] cubits: 14; and its lintel, cubit: one[...]' •[...
15. y[•]š[•]n lh. And he measured the interior of the vestibule, its length, cub[its: 1]3, and its width, cubits: ten[
16. And he led me inside the vestibule; and behold, another vestibule, and a gate beside the inner wall. To the right,
17. with the measurements of the exterior gate, its width, cubits: four, its height, cubits: 7; and two rooms. In fron[t of]
18. this door an entrance-vestibule, its width, rod: one, cubits: seven; and the length of the entrance, rods: two, cu[bits:]
19. 14, and its height, rods: two, c{ubits}:14. And the gate opposite the gate, {that is,} open to the interior of the bloc[k,
20. {has} the measurements of the exterior gate. And to the left of this entrance he showed me a spiral

staircase, its w[idth]

21. and its length {are} the same measurement, rods: two by two, cubits: fourteen; and the d[doors opposite the doors {are}]

22. the same measurement; and the pillar [within] the space, which the staircase goes all a[ro]und and up, its wid[th and its length, cubits:]

Notes on the Readings and Reconstructions of the Text

This column contains the remains of ten lines of text and, like columns i and ii, preserves the bottom half of the column. Close inspection of the column reveals that it consists of two pieces, both of which extend over the ten lines: the main piece, which is torn in several places and is part of the piece that forms the left-hand side of column ii; and a smaller, roughly oval piece has been situated to the left of the main piece and forms the left part of the column. In PAM 41.940 this smaller piece is positioned so that its lines are along the same horizontal axis as the lines of the larger piece. In PAM 43.564, however, the smaller piece has been slightly rotated clockwise, thereby aligning the two pieces more correctly and revealing the full extent of the stresses on the skin.

Of the three columns of 4Q554 1, the skin of column iii is the most distorted, especially with respect to its bottom right and extreme left portions, where the text has a “foreshortened” look, the result of some ancient unknown stresses.

[1]-[11]. 5Q15 1 i 7-14 text *apud* MILIK, DJD III. Both CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, and EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU* attempt to reconstruct the top portion of 4Q554 1 iii by means of the 5Q 1 i text, but GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, do not.

In our view, there is roughly the same amount of space for text in 4Q554 1 iii 1-11 as there is in the portion of the 5Q copy that should overlap this section. Our reasoning is based on the average amount of letter-spaces in each copy, despite the fact that the 5Q text is extremely fragmentary at this point and that the average

amount of letter-spaces per line per column in each copy is a very rough figure.⁷⁸ Our calculations depend on the number of letter-spaces per copy:

i) The amount of potential letter-spaces in 5Q15 1 i between the place where it can no longer be used to reconstruct partially overlapping text at 4Q5541 ii 22 (= 5Q15 1 i 6) and the place where it can first be used to reconstruct partially overlapping text at 4Q554 iii 12 (= 5Q15 1 ii 15) is 560, that is, seventy letter-spaces times eight lines of text (5Q15 1 i 7-14). From this number we need to subtract approximately fifteen letter-spaces (= the amount of text at the start of 5Q15 1 i 7 that is not preserved but that is needed to “fill out” the rest of 4Q554 1 ii; on which, see the Note on the Reading, *ad loc.*) and approximately thirty letter-spaces (= the space spanned by the *vacat* at 5Q15 1 i 7). The net result is a rough figure of 515 letter-spaces.

ii) The amount of potential letter-spaces in 4Q554 1 iii 1-11 (*i.e.*, the section of the 4Q text overlapped by the 515 letter-spaces of 5Q15 1 i 7-14) is 528, that is, forty-eight letter-spaces times eleven lines of text. From this number we need to subtract thirteen letter-spaces (= the amount of 5Q15 1 i 15 text included at the end of 4Q554 1 iii 11). The net result is a rough figure of 514 letter-spaces, which is very much in line with the figure obtained for the 5Q copy.

This rough correspondence in the number of 4Q and 5Q letter-spaces means that it is not necessary to reconstruct (*pace* MILIK) long *vacats* at 5Q15 1 i 9 and 5Q15 1 i 14. More importantly, this correspondence means that 4Q554 1 iii 1-11 probably did not contain the near-column-wide *vacats* of the sort found at 4Q554 1 ii 10 or 4Q554a line 2. In addition, we have noted several times that 4Q554 tends to exhibit shorter, unexpected *vacats*; this could only be true for 4Q554 1 iii 1-11 if the dictionary-form numerals of the corresponding text of 5Q15 1 i 7-14 were in their cipher form in 4Q554 1 iii 1-11. Since there is no way to determine this, we have retained the 5Q forms in the 4Q text. Finally, the amount of 5Q text needed to “fill in” the missing 4Q text means that it is probably the case that 4Q554 1 iii, like 4Q554 1 i-ii, had twenty-lines of text (see also the Note on the Reading at 4Q554 1 ii [1]-5, above).

12. פתיהו[ן] [ק]נ[ן] תרין[ן] אמין ארבע עשרה. The dictionary form of the numbers seems the most appropriate option in the light of both the text at 5Q15 1 i 15 and the scant remains of the 4Q554 1 iii 12. Note that of all three columns of 4Q554 1, column iii contains the highest percentage of dictionary-form numbers (on which, see note 21, above); as a result, a dictionary-form number in this line would not be unusual. Not evident in either PAM 41.940 or PAM 43.564, but clearly visible in CT PAM 43.564 are four faint traces of letters extending from line 12 over the words משרתה אמין in line 13. The first trace (closest to the right margin) is clearly the tail of a terminal *nun*; the other three traces might correspond to the tails of (moving from right to left) a *kop*, a terminal *nun*, and another terminal *nun*, all of which would fit the evidence of the text at

⁷⁸ In §5, above, we noted that the average number of letter-spaces per line for 4Q554 1 and 2 ranged from between 45.6 to 51.3, with a rough average of about 48.0. As for 5Q15, M.O. WISE calculates that 5QNJ had seventy “average spaces/line” (WISE, *Temple Scroll*, 55). Our own calculations, which involves measuring across discrete spans of text in the other QNJ copies, reveals a figure of seventy-one letter-spaces per line, a figure in line with WISE’S computation.

deteriorated. EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*: אעל{ג}י, while CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll* simply ואעלני.

16. אסר אחרן ותרעא ליד כותלא גויה: 5Q15 1 i 18. אסרן אחרן ותרעא ליד כותלא גויה. EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*, read עוד instead of ליד.

17. במשחח}ת. A difficult spot in the text, owing to severe local distortion of the skin. BEYER, *ATTM*, and CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, read כמשחת, perhaps following from MILIK, DJD III. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, read במשחח}ת, while EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*, read ת}ממשחח. A close examination of CT PAM 43.564 indicates that only four letters are present, with neither a lacuna nor an erasure between the *shin* and *taw*. The word is spelled במשחת at 4Q554 1 iii 20.

17. פותיה. CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll* (likely *apud* MILIK, DJD III): פותיה. In addition, we find that CHYUTIN reads אמין [קנה חד] אמין 7 (so BEYER, *ATTM* at J 2, 19), a reading that is not from MILIK. BEYER J 2f. 2.19 prefers ורומה, but this is unwarranted.

17. אמין ארבע רומה. The small piece containing the words in this line is very poorly preserved.

17. ודשין לה תרין. The לה is found both here (so also EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*) and at 5Q15 1 i 19, but GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, read תרין תרין.

18. שבע. This word marks the beginning of 5Q15 1 ii. CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, reads אמין אבע, which must be considered a misprint, since both 4Q554 1 iii 18 and 5Q15 1 ii 1 exhibit the number שבע.

18. וארכה. BEYER, *ATTM*, and CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, read ואורכה. The 5Q copy has a lacuna in which two letters may be fitted.

19. וּוּ —. 5Q15 1 ii 1: א[ר]בע עשרה, with the *bet* uncertain.

19. וּוּ — א. The solitary *aleph* stands for אמין, the only time in the extant portions of the *NJ* that it does so. EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*, read וּוּ —, but all ciphers are visible. 5Q15 1 ii 1: ארבע עשרה.

19. ותרע [ל]קבל תרע (also FITZMYER/HARRINGTON, *MPAT*) but little remains of the text at this point. It appears, though, that one should read ותרע [ל]קבל תרע (so CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*).

20. אחזיאני. 5Q15 1 ii 2: אחזיאני (so MILIK, DJD III and CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*).

20. מעלה. CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, reads מעל; but MILIK, DJD III, FITZMYER/HARRINGTON, *MPAT*, and BEYER, *ATTM*, (correctly) read 5Q 15 1 ii 2 as מעלה.

20. אחזיאני. 5Q15 1 ii 2: אחזיאני.

20. סחרן וסלקן פותיה: 5Q15 1 ii 3: סחרן וסלקן פותיה.

20-21. פותיה וארכה משחה. One of the places in 4Q554 where the width of an object is measured before its length. The object being measured is of equal breadth and length, and this might account for the unusual formula — see Note on the Reading at line 22, below.

5Q15 1 ii 3: פותיה וארכה משחה. BEYER, *ATTM* (J 3, 3), reads לאורכה. EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*, read פותיה משחה. Curiously, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, translate the phrase (which they transcribe correctly) as “[its] le[ngth] and its width.”

21. אָמין ערבע עשרה ותנרעין לקבל תרעין. MILIK, DJD III, reconstructs 5Q15 1 ii 3-4 thus. But line 3 of the main fragment of column ii at PAM 42.320 ends אָמין ערבע עשרה, and we cannot find the tiny pieces that MILIK must have used to provide him with the final three letters.

22. במשחה. CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, reads כמשחחה; EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*, הַ כמשחחה.

22. בגוא גוא די דרגא. An unusual phrase but clear enough at MILIK, DJD III and followed by BEYER, *ATM*, and FITZMYER/HARRINGTON, *MPAT*. The text at 4Q554 1 iii, however, is very unclear. There is room enough for the phrase, to be sure, but the traces of the uppermost part of two or three letters at the left edge of the lacuna do not seem to support a reading of גוא. Both CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, and EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*, read בגוה די, which would fit the traces better but not the space available. Our reconstruction here is thus quite tentative and we have taken our translation of the first part of this line from GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*.

22. פתילה וארכה. Another instance of width before length, again in a situation where the sides of an object are the same measurement. Both instances (see 4Q554 1 iii 20-21) involve an equilateral object.

22. פתילה וארכה אָמין. On a potential overlap between 5Q15 1 ii, 4Q554 1 iii, and 4Q554a, see the Note on the Reading at 4Q554a line 1, below. It is not certain that the word אָמין would have fit here, although the line length seems to indicate this. That at least part of 4Q554 1 iii 22 would have been part of line 1 of 4Q554a seems clear enough from our reconstruction of the latter.

4Q554a

Overlapping text: 4Q554 1 iii 22 5Q15 1 ii 4-9

- 01 עלדהי פתיה ואורכה [א]מין שת בשת מרבע [ו]דרגא דין סלק לידה] פתיה אמין ארבע וסחר
- 02 [וסלק רום קנין תרין עד טלולא] *vacat*
- 03 ואעלני לגוא פריזתא ואחזיני בה באתין מן תרע] לתרע חמשת עשר תמניה בחדה רוח עד זזיתא
- 04 ושבעה מן זזיתא עד תרעא אחרנא פתי] הון ארך בתיא קנין תלתה ארכין 3 ו ופתיהון
- 05 קנין תרין אמין — ו וכדן כל תוניא [ו]רומהון קנין תרין אמין — ו ותרעהון במצעתא
- 06 פתי קנין ו אמין — ו ומשח פתי מציעת ביתא אמין] ארבע ארך ורום קנה חד אמין שבע
- 07 ואחזיאני משחת בתי מכלא דכא אמין תשע עשרה] ארכהון ופתיהון אמין — ו בית
- 08 עשרין ותרתי ערשין וחדה עשרה כיו אטמן עלא מן ערשין] ולידה אמה בריתא
- 09 ומשח • כותא רומה אמין תרתין פתיה אמין ועובי פתי כותלא [ו]מא קדמיתא אמין
- 10] ואחרנתא אמין ומשח תחומי דוכניא אורכהון אמין תשע עשרה] רא ופתיהון אמין
- 11] • ורומהון פתיחן ב] קנין תרין אמין ארבע
- 12 עשרה ופתיהון אמין תלת וארכין עשר א] מה חדה ופלג ורומה גו
- 13] יתא ית טלולא די עליהון [

Translation

1. [{and} up, its width and its length,]c[ubits: six by six, a square.] And the staircase that [ascends alongside,] its width, cubits: four; round
2. [and up, rods: two, up to the roof.] *vacat*
3. [And he brought me ... the block and he showed me there the houses; from one gate] to the other gate: fifteen {that is,} eight from the side to the corner
4. [and seven from the corner to the other gate; {and this is} the width and length of the houses, their length,

rods: three, {cubits:} 21, and their width,

5. [rods: two, cubits: 14. And all the rooms are alike; and] their height, rods: two, cubits: 14; their door is in the centre,

6. [its width, rods: 2, cubits: 14. And he measured the width of the house, cubits:] four; length and height, rod: one, cubits: seven

7. [Then he showed me the measurements of the houses for dining (?); a hall (?) cubits: nineteen,]their length and width, cubits: 12. {Each} house

8. [(has) twenty-two couches and eleven lattice windows over the couches. And] at their side is the outer gutter

9. [And he measured the y ... of the window, its height, cubits: two, its width, cubits: ... , and its thickness is the width of the wall. The hei]ght of the first one, cubits:

10. [... , and (of) the other, cubits: Then he measured the edges of the platforms, their length, cubits: nine]teen, and their width, cubits:

11. [... and their height they open ...] rods: two, cubits: four-

12. [teen, and their width, cubits: three. And they were ten ... long cu]bit: one and a half; and its height inside

13. [...] *yt'* the roof that is over them

Notes on the Readings and Reconstructions of the Text

4Q554a continues the description of the interior features of the New Jerusalem that was begun in 4Q554 1 i-iii. Most importantly, the overlapping text at 5Q15 1 ii continues, seemingly with only a little break, from 4Q554 1 iii to 4Q554a: the last preserved words of 4Q554 iii 22 are overlapped at 5Q15 ii 4, and the first preserved words of 4Q554a line 1 are overlapped at 5Q15 ii 5.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ This brief lacuna occurs because the gap between the preserved text at 4Q554 1 iii 22 and 4Q554a line 1 is partially but not fully bridged by the 5Q15 text. While the gap is small enough to assert (as we have done) that the text runs from 4Q554 1 iii to 4Q554a without a major break, it is large enough not to permit a perfectly certain reconstruction of either the left-hand portion of 4Q554 1 iii 22 or the right-hand portion of 4Q554a line 1. In addition, 4Q554a lines 2 and 3 are also subject to potentially unbridgable lacunae, since the *vacat* in line 2 does not permit the *prima facie* reconstruction of either line, even with the help of the 5Q15 text. 4Q554a line 4 is a key line, therefore, for it is the first line where extant text from 5Q15 exists to the extent that the missing text in the right part of the line might be fully restored to the point at which it breaks off at the end of the previous line. As a result, the restoration of 4Q554a line 4 provides a rough idea of the line length of the column, which then can be employed as a guide to reconstructing the right-hand portion of lines 1-3.

There are several reasons why 4Q554a should be considered a separate copy from 4Q554:

- Most importantly, PUECH observes that “une étude plus serrée de la disposition des colonnes et des lignes, ainsi que de la paléographie, nous a montré qu’il faut répartir les fragments attribués à 4QJNa^a sur deux manuscrits, 4QJN^{a-b}.”⁸⁰ This in itself is a compelling piece of evidence from a senior Scrolls scholar who has studied the fragments first-hand.

- In our section on “Palaeographic Remarks” at the start of this chapter we observed that clear palaeographic discrepancies exist between the two texts.

- In the same section we noted that whereas 4Q554 1 and 4Q554 2 do not exhibit evidence of horizontal ruling-lines that stretch across the width of their columns, thin ruling-lines are clearly present on the skin of 4Q554a.

- In our section on “Number Palaeography” we demonstrated that there are three distinct differences between 4Q554 and 4Q554a regarding the fashion in which their cipher-form numerals are written.

- In our section on “Line Lengths” we established that the average number of letter-spaces per given measure of text differs when we compare 4Q554 and 4Q554a.

- Finally, while both large fragments of 4Q554 contain the lower portions and the bottom margins of their columns of text, 4Q554a preserves the upper margin and the top part of its column of text.⁸¹

⁸⁰ PUECH, “JN,” 88, note 1. The first indication that PUECH understood that there are three copies of the *NJ* at Qumran is in *La croyance*, 591, where he labels the 4Q copies “4QJNa^{a-b-c}.”

⁸¹ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” 448. The argument is that when limited portions of a scroll are extant, it is more likely than not that the preserved portions will come from the same section of the rolled scroll and so will exhibit similar physical characteristics. See H. STEGEMANN, “Methods for the Reconstruction

By itself, however, this evidence is merely circumstantial and does not prove conclusively that 4Q554a is a separate copy. For instance, even if the letter and number palaeography, the average number of letter-spaces, and the spacings among lines and columns are demonstrably different in 4Q554a, all these differences could also be explained by the hypothesis that another hand assumed writing at this point.⁸² Moreover, the preservation of the top margin at 4Q554a and the bottom margins of 4Q554 1 i-iii might still simply be a result of chance.

What potentially makes both of these objections more substantial is the observation that, as noted above, 4Q554a overlaps the text of 5Q15 1 ii in such a way as to appear to be a continuation of the text that breaks off at 4Q554 iii. In other words, 5Q15 1 i-ii seems to be overlapped fragmentarily yet continuously from 4Q554 1 ii 12 through 4Q554 1 iii 12-22 to 4Q554a 11.⁸³ As a result, to posit that 4Q554 1 and 4Q554a are separate copies of the *NJ* would therefore require a theory that two copies of the same document were composed with somewhat similar-sized columns, and that it was incredible good fortune that the text in one

of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments,” *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls — The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. L.H. SCHIFFMAN; JSPSup 8, JSOT/ASOR Monographs 2; Sheffield, 1990), 189-220, and A. STEUDEL, “Assembling and Reconstructing Manuscripts,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (edd. P.W. FLINT and J.C. VANDERKAM; Leiden/Boston/Köln, 1998), 1.516-534.

⁸² An examination by autopsy of the fragments themselves would be essential here, for it does not appear that the right side of 4Q554a, which extends the top margin of the fragment to the upper right like a panhandle, contains any stitching holes (and the left side of 4Q554 1 iii does not appear to extend to the left margin of the column). What this lack of holes means is that if 4Q554a is found to be of a different leather than 4Q554 1, it cannot be claimed that the reason that this is so is because they were sown together this way in antiquity. In fact, an examination of PAM 41.940 suggests that there might be stitching holes along the *left* side of 4Q554a.

⁸³ The missing portions of 4Q554a are thus reconstructed with the extant text of 5Q15 1 ii in GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, 2.1110-1112, and CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, as his column 18. Note that to claim that 4Q554a = 4Q554 1 iv might also require an assertion that the far right portion of the “panhandle” (see previous note) of 4Q554a 1 is what remains of the top margin of 4Q554 1 iii.

fragment of the first preserved copy (4Q554 1 iii) terminates very nearly at the precise point where the text in the second preserved copy (4Q554a) begins. The sheer *prima facie* unlikelihood of this theory probably accounts for the fact that, prior to the assertion of PUECH, the fragments of what we now call 4Q554 and 4Q554a were implicitly referred to and/or employed in most editions and translations as if they were the remains of only one, four-column 4Q copy of the *NJ*.⁸⁴

Yet the possibility of two distinct 4Q copies the text of the one ending at virtually the same place as the text of the other begins, however improbable this might seem at first blush, is proven through a closer inspection of the text itself. While it is true that 5Q15 ii overlaps 4Q554 1 iii and 4Q554a in what would appear to be a continual stream of text, a reconstruction of the 4Q554 and 4Q554a lacunae with reference to the overlaps and the column widths of all three copies reveals that it is impossible for 4Q554a to be the top portion of the column *in the same copy of the text* following 4Q554 1 iii.⁸⁵ Put another way, 4Q554a cannot be 4Q554 1 iv. As a result of this critical finding the circumstantial evidence listed above now becomes corroborating evidence. Accordingly, in the light of this critical finding and of the corroborating evidence, we must conclude that 4Q554a is from another copy of the *NJ* than 4Q554 1 and 2. It is sheer good fortune indeed that the preserved material from both copies form a nearly continuous text.

1-13. Unless noted otherwise or corrected, 5Q15 1 ii text *apud* MILIK, DJD III.

1. This is a crucial line because it establishes from the perspective of the text itself that 4Q554 and

⁸⁴ In fact, such a view goes back to the *Preliminary Concordance*, which labels 4Q554a “JNa 1 iv” (*cf.* 2043, *qv.* םרר; 2388, *qv.* קנה, *etc.*).

⁸⁵ The full argument is provided in the Note on the Reading at 4Q554a 1, below.

however, is more problematic. The way that MILIK has reconstructed the text at the end of 5Q15 1 ii 5 (the text that we have included in the reconstruction of our 4Q554a line 2) allows for perhaps and additional ten or fifteen more letter-spaces to be added at the end of the line. In this space MILIK has added the *vacat*, corresponding — if not in length, then in position — with the *vacat* of 4Q554a line 2. The difficulty is with MILIK'S text, which reads [ויס]ל[ק] [רום]ק[נין תרי]ן ע[ד]ן. But this is very probably an incomplete sentence (but not according to the translation in GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*), a fact that MILIK himself appears to have recognized, since his translation of the text reads “il [*i.e.*, l'escalier] tourne autour et monte à [deux canne]s de haut, jusqu' [au toit].” It is unclear whether the addition of the extra word (such as טלולא) or words that would be required to complete the sentence would have also allowed enough space at the end of the line to retain the *vacat*.

As for the *vacat* as it appears in 4Q554a 2, it, like the *vacat* at 4Q554 1 ii 10, clearly marks the boundary between two discrete sections of the text. In this case, the reader moves from a description of the blocks, streets, towers, and other larger intramural structures to a description of the interior of the houses.

3. פּרַזִּיתָא .. וְאַעֲלֵנִי MILIK, DJD III: [לגוא]. The trace of two letters remain, and the lacuna seems larger than a four-letter word.

3. וְאַחֲזִינִי. MILIK, DJD III וְאַחֲזִינִי. The form אַחֲזִינִי is attested at 4Q554 1 iii 20, though, and we have observed that the 4Q copies tend towards the shorter orthographic forms of words and numbers. See also note 39, above, and the Notes on the Reading at 4Q554 a line 4, below.

3. וְאַעֲלֵנִי לְגוּא פְּרַזִּיתָא וְאַחֲזִינִי בְּהַ בְּאַתִּין מִן תַּרְעָן. 5Q15 1 ii 6, so MILIK, DJD III, and followed by others. If we assume the *vacat* at line 2 is meaningful, then we must be able to fit these words, the preserved text of the 5Q copy, in the (missing) right-hand portion of the 4Q column without their either being too short for line 3 (because we know its left-hand margin is the same length as all the other full lines in the column) or too long for it (because that would mean that the first part of the 5Q text would have to be situated in line 2, and thus before the *vacat*).

Fortunately, the text indeed “fits” — not perfectly, though, since the line is about one word longer than what the gap at the right-hand portion of the line ought to be. One possibility is that 4Q554a 3 did not exactly parallel the wording of 5Q15 ii 6.

4. פְּתִיחֵהוּן אַרְךָ בְּתִיָּא קִנִּין תַּלְתָּה אַרְכִּין 3 וּפְתִיָּהוּן. This section of the text is very difficult to translate, since the indications of dimension and of measurement do not seem to have a logical order.

● notes concerning the text:

- Regarding the word פְּתִיָּהוּן, cf. 5Q15 1 ii 7 פְּתִיָּהוּן, but the orthographic evidence (see note 45, above) suggests the shorter spelling throughout the 4Q copies. Note, *e.g.*, the וּפְתִיָּהוּן at the end of this line.

- With respect to the אַרְךָ, we note that at 5Q15 1 ii 7 is preserved אַרְךָ. BEYER, *ATM* 1, and CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, prefer the אַרְךָ of the 5Q copy; CHYUTIN later records faithfully the אַרְךָ of 4Q554a 6 (his column 18, line 7), although here BEYER still has אַרְךָ.

- Regarding קנין תלתה ארכין ז אמיין — was it inadvertently dropped in 4Q554? MILIK, DJD III, reconstructs 5Q15 1 ii 7 וחודה אמיין אשריין (so also FITZMYER/HARRINGTON, *MPAT*, and GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*). That the word אמיין (or something else) is required in the 5Q15 copy is clear from the way the small fragment containing a few words from 5Q15 1 ii 5-7 (see note 76, above) needs to be situated with respect to the main fragment at PAM 42.320. EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*, read אמיין ז ארכין. The ארכין seems completely misplaced.

● previous translations:

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*: “length of the houses, three rods, 21 (cubits) long; and their width”

BEYER, *ATM* 1: “die Länge der (einzelnen) Häuser ist drei Ruten (gleich) einundzwanzig ‘Ellen’ und ihre Breite ist”

CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*: “The width of the length of the houses three rods, twenty-one cubits; and their width”

EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*: “The length of the houses was three canes, *i.e.*, twenty-one cubits, and their width”

LICHT, “Ideal”: “Their dimensions: the length of the houses was 3 reeds, *i.e.* 21 cubits, and their width”

MILIK, DJD III: “Longeur des maisons: trois canne, vingt et une coudées, et leur longueur:”

The only scholars to make sense of the first few words of this section of text (the others ignore them) are CHYUTIN, who translates the words literally, and LICHT, who substitutes פותרון with the phrase “their dimensions,” arguing that “the word ... might be an uncorrected scribal error” (“Ideal,” 52 n. 10).

● conclusion:

The essential point of this section of text, as LICHT recognizes, is to communicate the dimensions of each house in the block. The difficult word order of this section could be a result of both missing and garbled text (such as the missing אמיין in the 4Q copy and the misplaced ארכין) and the fact that so much information is being compressed in a relatively short section of text. In our translation we have attempted to take account of all the words of the text, but translate them in a way that (we argue) best conveys what the text is trying to communicate at this point. LICHT’s suggestion of error on the part of the scribe of 5Q15, not seems an unlikely possibility, given that the same “error” appears in a 4Q copy.

5. קנין. The *nun* of this word begins the extant text of 5Q15 1 ii 8. Reconstructing the entire word might not fully extend across the lacuna from the *nun* to the hypothetical beginning of 4Q554a line 5 (the place in the text is established by reference to 5Q15 1 ii 1-6, where the beginning of these lines are preserved) — there is room perhaps for another 2-3 letters. That being said, it is difficult to imagine anything else filling the lacuna, given the context of what follows the קנין.

5-6. וז אמיין — קנין וז אמיין — רותרעוון במצעותא [פתי קנין וז אמיין]. Note that MILIK, DJD III, reconstructs at 5Q15 1

ii 8: קנין תרין אמין ארבע עשרה. The cipher-form numbers seem better suited to the (hypothetical) number of letter-spaces this line ought to have, and form a parallel with the cipher numbers of the previous line and (again) later in this line. EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*, IIII — אמין. Note also MILIK'S observation that this portion of the text “semble être un élément intrus: au lieu de donner les dimensions des portes des maison, l'auteur, par distraction sans doute, répète la largeur du porche de l'ilot.”

5-11. In DJD III MILIK reconstructs 5Q15 1 ii 8-14 with eight principal fragments. We observe that MILIK uses the major fragment of 5Q15 1 ii at PAM 42.320, six of the seven fragments that were specifically identified as the important fragments of PAM 42.323 (*i.e.*, nos. ii, iii, and iv identified in note 76, above), and 4Q554a, which he calls the “deuxième morceau de 4Q.” Granting that “cette restitution reste un peu hypothétique,” MILIK presents 5Q15 ii in 15 lines:

lines 1-9	5Q15 1 ii at PAM 42.320
lines 5-15	4Q554a
lines 8-14	PAM 42.323, the larger pair of the two fragments vertically arranged (no. iii in note 76)
lines 11-12	PAM 42.323, one or two of the small triangular pieces (no. ii in note 76)
lines 11-15	PAM 42.323, the smaller pair of the two fragments vertically arranged (no. iv in note 76)

The difficulty with MILIK'S reconstruction lies in his lines 8-15. With the exception of the right-hand portion of 5Q15 1 ii 8 and 9, which mark the last two lines of the fragment 5Q15 1 ii at PAM 42.320, 5Q15 1 ii 8-15 are reconstructed almost totally by his positioning of the aforementioned PAM 42.323 fragments and 4Q554a lines 5-12. It is this positioning of these PAM 42.323 fragments in relation to 4Q554a that we question, and thus we also question MILIK'S entire reconstruction of the lower half of 5Q15 1 ii.

The problem surfaces when we attempt to use the montage that is MILIK'S 5Q15 1 ii 8-15 in order to reconstruct 4Q554a 5-11. Whereas MILIK'S reconstruction of 5Q15 1 ii 5-8 may be applied fruitfully and instructively to the reconstruction of 4Q554a 1-4 (as we have demonstrated in our reconstruction above), the *realia* of 4Q554a 5-11 (and especially 5-8) do not permit the use of 5Q15 1 ii 8-15 as these lines are reconstructed by MILIK. Using our reading of 4Q554a lines 5-8 and situating MILIK'S 5Q15 1 ii 8-12 as the text in these lines would appear in relation to the way we have reconstructed the 4Q554a text (and without commenting on MILIK'S readings) 4Q554a 5-8 would appear like this (5Q15 1 ii text underlined):

- 05 קנין תרין אמין ארבע עשרה וכדן כל תוניא ורומהון קניית רין אמין — וז ותרהון במצעתא
- 06 פותי קנין תרין אמין ארבע עשרה ומשח פותי מציעת ביתא וגוהון די תוניא אמין ארבע ארד ורום
- 06 bis קנה חז אמין שבע
- 07 ואחזיאני משחת בתי מכלא דכא אמין תשע עשרה ארכהון ופתיהון אמין — ו בית
- 08 עשרין ותרתין ערשין וחדה עשרה כויו אטמן עלא מן ערשין ולידה אמה בריתא

Line 6 runs for over 100 letter-spaces, and even if we allow for the possibility that 4Q554a might have substituted the cipher-numeral םםם — קנין ן אמין ן אמין for the phrase קנין תרין אמין ארבע עשרה (as we reconstruct), we still arrive at figure of ninety-five to one hundred letter-spaces. Possessing as we do the left-hand portion of the column at 4Q554a, that is, the portion of the text where each line ends, we cannot envision a reconstruction of the column that would allow for a line-length of one hundred letter-spaces when a line length of seventy to seventy-five letter-spaces is clearly indicated by other means. If this is not enough, an examination of line 6 on the photographs themselves plainly indicates that this line is shorter than its neighbours, and that the spaces between words in the line seem slightly larger than the spaces in other lines. Accordingly, one could not make the case that this line was physically longer than its neighbours or that the letters in this line were especially tightly bunched together. For their part, line 7 runs for sixty-eight letter-spaces, which is low, as is the sixty-six letter-spaces of line 8. From the point of view of the material evidence, therefore, it seems impossible to harmonize MILIK'S reconstruction of 5Q15 1 ii 8-14 with the physical *realia* of 4Q554a.

Having asserted all this, we must also acknowledge that the 5Q material that MILIK employs to reconstruct the last eight lines of 5Q15 1 ii 8-14 appears to be concerned with the same subject matter as the 4Q554a text at this point, *i.e.*, the description and dimensions of the internal structures of a city house (see Note on the Reading at line 2, above). We also observe that MILIK'S reconstruction of the bottom portion of 5Q15 1 ii contains three places where the 5Q text overlaps the 4Q554a text: to use MILIK'S text, the left-hand part of 5Q15 1 ii 8 (par. 4Q554a 5), the left-hand part of 5Q15 1 ii 11 (par. 4Q554a 7), and the left-hand part of 5Q15 1 ii 13 (par. 4Q554a 10). This would seem to confirm the fact that the text of 4Q554a 5-11 is overlapped, if not exactly, by the text at 5Q15 1 ii 8-15.

Two explanations are possible: either 4Q554 a line 6 did not contain the same amount of text as preserved by 5Q15 1 ii 9 or it preserved a portion of them intralinearly. MILIK chooses the former option, arguing that “la ligne correspondante de 4Q semble plus courte; on y a omis די תוניא די תוניא” (DJD III). If we accept MILIK'S suggestion, substitute cipher-numbers for the dictionary-form numbers of 5Q15, and use the shorter 4Q form of the word פותי (see note 45, above), we can reconstruct the line adequately.

5. במצעתא. So also GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*. במציעתא: BEYER, *ATM*, EISENMAN/WISE, *DDSU*, and CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*.

6. ארבע[. EISENMAN/WISE, *DDSU*, and CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, read ארבע[א.

7. [משחת בתי מכלא דכא אמין תשע עשרה]. The sense of this part of the text is very unclear. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, do not reconstruct it. MILIK, DJD III: “*les dimensions des salles à manger*; chaque salle est de dix-neuf coudées de long” (see also GREENFIELD, review of DJD III, 133, on the word דכא). FITZMYER/HARRINGTON, *MPAT*: “the measurement of the houses for dining (?): The hall (was) nine[teen] cubits (in?) [their length].” That there is no measurement in rods is understandable, given the

figure of “nineteen cubits,” which is a prime number. But the word ארכהון would seem to be associated with ארכהון and the measurement that follows.

8. This is a difficult phrase, since we do not know the structure to which this “gutter” is attached. We have adopted the translation of GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, but note CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, “alongside the passage alley,” which implies a small road between the houses.

9. “The first one” (see BDB 1110) seems more apt than does GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, “its inner part.” The subject to which “the first” refers is unknown.

10. אר[עש. EISENMAN/WISE, *DDSU*: א[

13. יתנא. The centimeter of text before these letters is completely obscured.

4Q554 2 i

קנ[ין תרין] 14
•[ואמין] 15
••[משחת] 16
[ומי קריתא] 17

Translation

14. [... , ro]ds: two,

15. [cubits: fourteen]• and cubits

16. [...]•• the measurements of

17. [...]wmy the city

Notes on the Readings and Reconstructions of the Text

Nothing is preserved in this column outside the extreme left margin of four lines from the lower middle of the column. CHYUTIN, who understands the three columns of 4Q554 2 to be the last columns of the *NJ* (*i.e.*, his columns 20-22), has attempted to link 4Q554 2 i line 17 with 5Q15 2 line 2,⁸⁶ reading [תח]ומי קריתא די בגוא כל בתיא די [ואחזיאני]. Although there is no material overlap to sustain this claim, the two fragments seem to be concerned with the same subject (*i.e.*, an overview of the appearance and structural details of the city wall), although with such little text remaining in each fragment, it is difficult to

⁸⁶ CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, strangely assigns 5Q15 2 to his column 18 in his plate XIII, which is at odds with its placement in column 20 of his reconstruction.

be sure about such things.⁸⁷

14. קני]ין. The *yod* is partially visible at CT PAM 43.589. CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll* reads קניין תרין]; the rest read קני]ין תרין].

15. אמין ארבע עשרה]. This is CHYUTIN'S suggestion, and a reasonable one.

15. •]. A trace of a letter is clear at CT PAM 43.589. Is this a *yod*?

15. ואמין. The conjunctive *vav* is odd, since it does not appear elsewhere in any of the distance formulae.

16. ••]. The extreme lower portions of two letters is preserved; it is possible that these are the cipher numerals for the number "40": 33.

17. Notes on CHYUTIN'S reconstruction of 5Q15 2, in conjunction with its potentially being a copy of part of the missing text from the column 4Q554 2 i:

i) In his column 20, line 18 (= 5Q15 2 line 3), CHYUTIN reads תר]עא (so FITZMYER/HARRINGTON, *MPAT*); 5Q15 2 has נ•], wherein the letter before the *aleph* is utterly indistinguishable.

ii) In his line 19 (= 5Q15 2 line 4), CHYUTIN reads עשרה תרתני אמין כמודיא א]ע (so MILIK, DJD III, and therefore from this comes FITZMYER/HARRINGTON, *MPAT*, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, etc.). 5Q15 2 4 contains, however, א]ע כמודיא אמין] (this is quite clear in PAM 42.320, bottom left). What seems to have happened is that MILIK removed the top right portion of the fragment (that which contains the number תרתני עשרה) from its position as recorded on the PAM photograph and affixed to line 4. If this is true, then the very scanty indication of the line underneath תרתני עשרה must form CHYUTIN'S line 20, which would then require his present line 20 to be shifted to the right appropriately.

iii) In his line 20 (= 5Q15 2 line 5) CHYUTIN reads א]מין לעמוד עמוד לעמוד א]מ, but 5Q15 2 (even taking into account the evidence of the new join at line 19) reads at best א]ע לעמוד לע••] (see MILIK, DJD III).

iv) Although this does not affect his readings, CHYUTIN'S entire column 20, if indeed his theory is correct that it contained text from 4Q554 2 i and 5Q15 2, needs to be moved a fair distance to the right margin, given that 4Q554 2 ii (if we are to assume that column widths were about equal) is not all that wide.

⁸⁷ On CHYUTIN'S reading of 5Q15 2, see the Note on the Reading at 4Q554 2 i 17, below; on the problems concerning the place of 4Q554 2 with respect to the *NJ* as a whole, see the section on the order of the *NJ* columns in Chapter 2, § 5, a.

Notes on the Readings and Reconstructions of the Text

What remains of this column is fairly well-preserved. As with 4Q554 2 i and iii (his columns 20 and 22), CHYUTIN attempts to link other fragments with this column, in this case the fragments 5Q15 5 and 5Q15 3, which span lines 6-8 and 8-10 respectively. Again, there is no real need to place these fragments in this position, and some good textual reasons to suggest that they do not belong there.⁸⁸

12.]ף[. That a terminal *nun* would extend this far in this column is verified by other examples of the terminal *nun* with a long down stroke at 4Q554 2 ii 13 (near right margin), 4Q554 2 ii 19 (final word in line), and 4Q554 2 ii 22 (final word).

13. נא... ך[]••[]ף[]•[. Traces of these letters are seen in CT PAM 41.940 and 43.589. The two trace letters before the final *nun* in this series could be a *waw* and a *resh* (נרנא). although the *resh* could also be a *dalet*, and it is unclear what word is meant. The first trace is identified as a terminal *mem* by EISENMAN/WISE, *DDSU*.

13. CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, reads פתיה קנין תרין אמין; no lacunae are indicated.

13-14. The thickness and height of the wall have very human-sized dimensions, in contrast to its stupendous length and breadth. The height of the wall of the outer court of the *Temple Scroll* is also forty-nine cubits, but its thickness is only seven cubits (11Q19 xl 9-10). Whether we can say that one wall is more architecturally sound than the other in terms of the ratio an actual wall needs between its thickness and its height is unclear. It is a general principle of architecture that load-bearing walls will require thicker walls the higher they are built.

15. On the subject of precious stones and fine metals as part of the New Jerusalem in the biblical and extra-biblical literature, see Chapter 2, §3, a.

15. ועעיתא. BEYER, *ATTM 2* and GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE* read ועעיתא.

15-16. The figure is clearly one thousand, *x* hundred and thirty-two, with the *x* representing the unknown. All other reconstructions offer מאלף [ארבע] מאה ותלתין (so BEYER, *ATTM 2*, CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*,

⁸⁸ CHYUTIN reads]אמין[, but this is unsupported at 5Q15 5 line 1, which MILIK, *DJD III*, reads as]••[. Also, he transcribes 5Q15 3 as containing]שתה בשתה[(his line 20), directly under which is ופותי[רוון] (his line 21); actually, 5Q15 3 line 3 reads]שתה בשתה[, under which (in 5Q15 3 line 4) exists a fragment-wide *vacat*, and then under the *vacat* (in 5Q15 3 line 5) the letters]ופי[. As with 5Q15 5 (see line 17), there is no good reason to insert this fragment where CHYUTIN does.

EISENMAN/WISE, *DDSU*, and GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*). CHYUTIN argues that there are “1432 towers, in clusters of threes ... Beside each gate, on either side, there are only two towers, instead of the cluster of three ... At the four corners there is an additional corner tower” (on the three-tower and two-tower complexes, see the Notes on the Readings at lines 21 and 22, below). He concludes that “the distances between the axes of the trios of towers, including the distances to the gates and the corners, are precisely 1 ris, since $3 \times 480 - 12 + 4 = 1432$ [*i.e.*, $(3 \times 480) - 12 + 4 = 1432$].” (76)

At first blush this is an attractive solution and is worth exploring in detail. To better understand the process by which he arrives at this figure we need to flesh out the minutiae of his equation:

	3	towers per cluster
times	<u>480</u>	stadia in the perimeter of the city (<i>cf.</i> 4Q554 1 i 11 - ii 10)
		<i>apud</i> 140 stadia East wall (4 x 35 stadia)
		140 stadia West wall (4 x 35 stadia)
		100 stadia North wall (4 x 25 stadia)
		100 stadia South wall (4 x 25 stadia)
<i>equals</i>	1440	towers, one per stadion
minus	12	towers, since the gate-towers are two-tower complexes, not three-tower complexes
plus	<u>4</u>	solitary corner-towers
<i>equals</i>	1432	towers

CHYUTIN’S explanation about the number of towers cannot stand, however, for three reasons:

i) His 480-stadia city perimeter assumes a value of twenty-five stadia between gates and corners to gates along the North and South walls of the city. Yet, as we have demonstrated, the figure that is actually explicit in the text is twenty-four stadia, not twenty-five stadia, and we seriously doubt that the figure of twenty-four stadia is an error (see note 50, above, and the Note on Reading at 4Q554 1 i 19). The North and south walls each are ninety-six stadia long, not one hundred.

ii) Even if we assume that the figure of “twenty-five stadia” is correct, the figure of 480 three-tower complexes essential to his calculations is the figure of the number of stadia around the perimeter of the city walls, *including* the corners. Therefore, if we are to add CHYUTIN’S four solitary corner-towers, then we must also subtract the four corner three-tower complexes from the total of 480 (a net loss of eight towers), and this results in a figure of 1,424 towers. Moreover, this discrepancy means that the figure of 1,432 towers cannot be used as evidence to support the view that scribe wrote “stadia: 24” but really meant “stadia: 25.”

On the other hand, one might argue that the four extra corner-towers should be *added* to the extant corner three-tower complexes, thereby creating four-tower corner complexes and preserving the number 1,432. But there is simply no textual evidence for this — all one is doing is adding or subtracting towers in arbitrary fashion simply in order to make a set number (and one not even witnessed by the text) fit an architectural

schema that precedes the evidence. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine what a four-tower complex on the corner of a city wall would look like, since the towers in a four-tower complex will be necessarily joined either at their angles, thus forming a hollow square (which is an absurd construction for a defensive wall), or along their faces, thus forming a larger square composed of the four towers (in which case it would be one large tower instead of four smaller ones).

iii) It should be observed that the very idea of a three-tower complex has no textual basis (see Note on the Reading at 4Q554 2 ii 22, below) and so properly cannot be used in any schema.

To be sure, we cannot envision a schema in which $1, n32$ towers (where $n = 1 \dots 9 \times 100$, excluding 4) makes any sense. If the text had preserved either the full number of the towers or a better idea of how they were distributed around the wall, we might offer a guess at the relationship between walls, gates, and towers. But in the absence of both elements, any schema will be purely guesswork.

20. CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll* reads במצעיא אמין [; 4Q554 2 ii seems to show $\text{אמין} \dots$], with the first letter of the word perhaps the beginning of the upstroke of a *mem* or the end of the downstroke of a *pe*. EISENMAN/WISE, *DDSU* present מצעיא אמין “the middle one ... cubits”; BEYER, *ATTM 2*, offers אמין תרעיא , as does GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*.

21. EISENMAN/WISE, *DDSU* and CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll* read $\text{ואר}[\text{כהן}]$ (so E/W); 4Q554 2 ii probably ותרין [(so BEYER, *ATTM 2*). Is this a reference to the towers? That each of the twelve named gates was flanked by a tower seems to be explicit at 5Q15 1 i 10, in a section of text not overlapped by 4Q copy.

22. $\text{לכל רון}[\text{חיא}]$. So EISENMAN/WISE, *DDSU* ($\text{רון}[\text{חיא}]$; so *Preliminary Concordance*, 204 (qv. רוח)). The question is what extends in every direction, three by three? Even if we exclude this phrase, the referent of “three by three” remains unclear. The towers could be meant, in a three-tower complex (so CHYUTIN), but this is simply a guess.

22. ומגדליא . EISENMAN/WISE, *DDSU* and CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll* read מגדליא ; 4Q554 2 ii clearly ומגדליא .

4Q554 2 iii + 4Q554 7 [olim JNa 4]

מלכות בבל]	14 •תינ לין]
באתרה ומלכות מן די באתרה ומלכות פרס באתרה ומלכות]	15
ומלכון]	16 כתיא באתרה כלהון בסוף כלהון]
	17 אחרין שגיאן ורשין עמהון מ]
	18 עמהון אדום ומואב ובני עמון]
]• [19 די בבל ארעא כלה די לא ישר]
]ורחזית די •]	20 ויבאשון לארעך עד עדן די י]
]•••••א אלה רב]	21 בכל עמי •] ... [מלכות] ... [די ל]א
vac [אלין מלכין]	22 ויעבדון] בהון עממין]

Translation

14. •*tyn l•n*[... the Kingdom of Babylon
15. after it; and the Kingdom of M[edia after it; and the Kingdom of ... after it; and the Kingdom of
16. the Kittim after it — all of them at the end, all of them [... And kingdoms
17. other [ones] great and powerful with them *m*[...
18. with them Edom and Moab and the Sons of Ammon[...
19. of Babylon, the land, all of it, which is not *ysr*[...]•[...
20. and they shall do evil to your descendants until the time when *y*[...]And I saw that •[
21. with all 'm•[...] kingdoms [...], which shall n[ot ...]•••••' these *rb*[...
22. And nations will se[rve] them[...] *vac* Then the kin[gs] ...

Notes on the Readings and Reconstructions of the Text

One of the most salient questions about the *NJ* as a whole concerns the nature of 4Q554 2 iii, the section that many scholars have dubbed the “eschatological battle” (a description that we will challenge in Chapter 3), and its place in the text both materially and with respect to what the text has to say about the New Jerusalem. Recently TIGCHELAAR, who has examined these fragments in detail, advanced the possibility that these pieces of what we call 4Q554 2 ii and 4Q554 2 iii in fact might be improperly joined at the stitching.⁸⁹ In addition, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ notes that this third column begins “on a new sheet of leather,”⁹⁰ although he makes no claims about its position relative to the rest of the fragment.

All the same, and without having direct access to the fragments themselves in order to verify their appearance by autopsy, the evidence suggests that the fragments have been placed correctly in PAM 43.589, *i.e.*, 4Q554 2 contains three preserved columns, the last of which preserves this so-called “eschatological battle.” There are several reasons for this statement. First, both 4Q554 2 ii and 4Q554 2 iii sport an identical average of 11.2 letter-spaces per 2.0 cm of text and share orthographic similarities.⁹¹ This of course does not speak to the order in which the columns appeared in their original scrolled format, but it does indicate that they are possibly from the same copy of the text. Second, the fact that a new sheet of leather begins at column iii is not evidence that a piece has been properly or improperly joined; all it does is explain the significance of the stitching holes. Third, and

⁸⁹ TIGCHELAAR, review of CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, *RevQ* 18 (1998), 453-457 at 454. Note also that 4Q554 2 iii is assumed to be a separate fragment in the translation of COOK, “Vision.”

⁹⁰ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “New Jerusalem,” 607

⁹¹ See above, in the introductory sections to this chapter.

most telling, an examination of the join between the two columns and of the stitching-holes along the adjacent edges — even when the examination is mediated by transparencies, computer images, and photographs — reveals that the two columns have been appropriately joined together. Not only do the stitching-holes that can be discerned seem to be aligned correctly, but also the right edge of column iii appears to follow the precise line of the left edge of column ii, including a small protrusion near the bottom of the join.⁹²

14.]ן•• תיין. PUECH, *La croyance*: 'nwn(?) lq/s.

15-16. In Chapter 3 we argue that these two lines are perhaps what remains of an *ex eventu* review of history involving the periodization of history into a series of successive kingdoms.

One potential problem with the understanding that 4Q554 2 iii preserves a kingdom-schema is the line 14 reconstruction of the phrase “the Kingdom of Babylon.” In most of the lists of the kingdoms of the world Babylon comes first (see Daniel 2, *etc.*). But if we apply this logic to the text at lines 14-16, we note that the first word of line 15 is באתרה, which implies that kingdom at the end of line 14 (what we call the “Kingdom of Babylon”) cannot be first in succession, since this kingdom came *after* something else.

But this “something else” need not be a kingdom. If indeed 4Q554 2 iii preserved a review of history that culminated in this list of kingdoms, we cannot say when this review began, *i.e.*, it need not have begun with the name of the first kingdom on the list, that of the Kingdom of Babylon. In other words, there is nothing to say that the antecedent of באתרה in line 15 could not have been a kingdom or event drawn from a review of history that centered on the pre-exilic part of Israel’s history.

15. ומלכות מןדי. “Media” is a guess, based on known schemata of four or five kingdoms. “Persia” would have been פרס, not מדי (see, *e.g.*, 4Q552 1 6 (par. 4Q553 6 ii 5), where Persia is mentioned). Hence, CHYUTIN’S translation of “Persia” is incorrect (*NJ Scroll*). PUECH, *La croyance*, reads wmlkwt mlk(?), but there does not appear to be the traces of any letters after the *mem* (see also the *Preliminary Concordance*, 2286, qv. מלכו, which also reads nothing beyond the *mem*).

We have reconstructed a fair number of words in line 15 based on the average line length. If we assume that Media is the second kingdom and the “Kingdom of the Kittim” is the fourth (and last) one, as they are such in the earliest versions of the four-kingdom schema, then we need a third kingdom, which could be Persia.

⁹² Of course, to be certain the originals will need to be examined by autopsy.

16. כתיא. BEYER, *ATM 2*: “Zypriert.”

16. כלהון בסוף כלהון. The readings of this line vary widely, as expressed in the various translations. Cf. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TICHELAAR, *DSSSE*: “all of them at the end of all of them”; PUECH, *La croyance*: “eux tous, à la fin de chacun d’eux”; CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, “all of them, at the end, all of them”; BEYER, *ATM 2*: “sie alle am Ende von ihnen allen”; EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*: “all of them, one after another.” MAIER, *TTMNJ*, includes the Kittim as part of the passage, reading “die Kittäer, danach sie alle. Zuletzt (werden) sie all ...”

Interestingly, COOK, “Vision,” supplies a subject: “All these kingdoms shall appear one after another.” In our view, although the subject does not appear in the text itself, COOK’S translation probably comes closest to the dynamics implicit in the four-kingdom schema, *i.e.*, a succession of kingdoms, waxing and waning in a historically predetermined procession.

19. די בבל. PUECH, *La croyance*: mlk dy bbl, with מלך restored at the end of line 18. The reference in the *Preliminary Concordance* contains the reading די בבל, but adds the note “correct בככל” (2116, *qv.* די).

19. די בבל ארעא כלה די לא ישרן. It is unclear what the די לא ישרן could mean here. CHYUTIN restores לא ישרן, which makes good sense, but the verb is unattested in Biblical Aramaic. PUECH, *La croyance*, reads yšr[h/wn bh.

19-22. In the *Preliminary Concordance* we find reference to lines 20-22 of a fragment that is labeled “JNa 4” but that we call 4Q554 7 (references: line 20: 2117, *qv.* די, 2160, *qv.* רזא; line 21: 2398, *qv.* רב; line 22: 2284, *qv.* מלך). This fragment is not found in any previous edition or translation of the *NJ*.

4Q554 7 preserves a portion of the last few lines of a column of text. The *Preliminary Concordance* itself uses the line numbers 20-22, and, given our conclusions about the number of lines per column of 4Q554 1 and 2 (see Notes on the Reading at 4Q554 1 ii [1]-5 and 4Q554 1 iii [1]-[11]), we see no reason to alter these line numbers. A close examination of the fragment as it appears on CT PAM 41.940 reveals the trace of a letter on what is line 19.

From the perspective of its vocabulary, 4Q554 7 very much seems to belong with 4Q554 2 iii (and also with 4Q554 6 and 4Q554 8), especially the reference to a “king” or “kings” (4Q554 7 22). The reason why we are comparatively confident in positioning 4Q554 7 with respect to 4Q554 2 iii (as opposed to 4Q554 6 and 4Q554 8, both of which we consider to be from the same part of the *NJ* as 4Q554 2 iii, if not the same column, but which we hesitate to situate definitely *vis-à-vis* 4Q554 2 iii) is due to the presence of the bottom margin in 4Q554 7. In the 4Q copies of the *NJ*, and besides 4Q554 7, five columns of text have portions of their bottom margins preserved: 4Q554 1 i, 4Q554 1 ii, 4Q554 1 iii, 4Q554 2 ii, and 4Q554 2 iii. The “crumpled” look of the bottom margin preserved in 4Q554 7 is matched only by the “crumpled” look of the left-hand portion of the bottom margin of 4Q554 2 iii. To be sure, only an examination by autopsy can confirm that both portions of bottom margins are from the same skin, but to the eye (and viewing black-and-white CT transparencies), the physical appearance of the bottom margins of 4Q554 2 iii and 4Q554 7 are quite similar. As a further point of contact, the relative spacing between lines 20-22 of 4Q554 7 seems to match exactly the

relative spacing between lines 20-22 of 4Q554 2 iii.

20.]•[חזית די •. The *Preliminary Concordance* reads]*חזית די* [(2117, *qv.* די; 2160 *qv.* חזא [sic]); the word could be read either way. The verb appears twice in 11Q18 20; with the *waw* at line 3 (= 2Q24 4 11) and without the *waw* at line 6 (= 2Q24 4 15). The די is here taken as a conjunctive “that” (see BDB 1088, *qv.* די, §3) that follows verbs of knowing and perceiving.

21.] עמי •. The partial letter following the *mem* is very strange (scribal error?). CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, reads]בכל עממין מלכותא בל[.

22.] ויעבדון. CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, reads ויעבדון, or a complete word, all letters preserved. On the translation “to serve,” see J.J. COLLINS, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London/New York, 1997), 59, who also translates the verb in this way, noting that “the Aramaic verb ‘*bd* normally means to do, but in Hebrew it means to serve, and it may be used in its Hebrew sense here.” Note BDB 1105, where appear the Aramaic nouns עבד (“slave” or “servant”) and עבידה (which can have the meaning of “service”). See also H. RINGGREN, “עבד,” *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (trans. D.W. STOTT; Grand Rapids/Cambridge, 1999), vol. X, 376-405 at 383: “With personal objects ‘*abad* means “serve” and expresses the relationship between an ‘*ebed* and his or her ‘*adon*, “lord, master.”

PUECH, *La croyance*, reconstructs wy‘b[down] bhwn ‘mmyn[qrb(?), the reconstruction of the noun קרב providing the idiomatic phrase “to wage war” that is also seen at Dan 7:21.

22. The phrase “Then the kings” (or: “Then the king”) in this position (*i.e.*, so close to the end of the column) suggests that 4Q554 2 iii (+ 4Q 554 7) is not the last column of the *NJ*. On the subject of the order of the columns of the *NJ*, see Chapter 2, §5, a.

4Q554 6 (= J 4, 51-54)

01]ושין

02]ין במנין

03]מלכי עממיהן

04] בידהין •

Translation

1. ...]ršyn[...
2. ...]yn in number [...
3. ...] the kings of the peoples [...
4. ...] in their hand •[...

Notes on the Reading

We have noted previously that both BEYER and CHYUTIN assign 4Q544 6 (= J 4, 51-54) to this portion of the text,⁹³ with the latter incorporating its lines into his column 22. We are in favour of this fragment's being associated with 4Q554 2 iii, although we doubt the positioning of the fragment in CHYUTIN'S reconstruction. The basis for our associating the two fragments concerns the subject matter of 4Q544 6 (= J 4, 51-54), which, although limited to a few words and phrases, seems to reflect the subject matter of 4Q554 2 iii. This might not be a critical factor in other texts, but when we consider the *NJ*, where so much of the text is formulaic and/or single-mindedly devoted to either architectural details or ritual elements, disjunctive voices stand out. As a result, we have included a transcription, translation, and notes to 4Q544 6 (= J 4, 51-54) following the Notes on the Reading to 4Q554 2 iii, rather than in what would otherwise be its natural place, following 4Q544 5 (= J 5, 50).

4Q554 6 might have been situated in a spot preceding the extant lines of 4Q554 2 iii, or perhaps even in a following column, although there is no way to be certain.⁹⁴

⁹³ See note 10, above.

⁹⁴ See our brief discussion of this fragment in Chapter 3, §3, b, v.

1. רַשִׁין [ר]. CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*: רַשִׁין. The reading seems plausible in light of the appearance of this word at 4Q554 2 iii 17 and the trace of a letter preceding the *shin* in PAM 43.589.

1-2. In his column 22, line 17, CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, attempts to place 4Q554 6 to the left of lines 3-6 of 4Q554 2 iii, with the closest contact coming at the word he reconstructs as מַצְרַיִן, with the first letter of the word found at 4Q 554 2 iii 17 and the last two letters at 4Q554 6 line 2.

The restoration of the word “Egypt,” while contextually appropriate to the lists of the nations that are the subject of the first four preserved lines of 4Q554 2 iii, cannot be considered more than speculation. To begin, only the *mem* is preserved at 4Q554 2 iii 17, the point being that there are hundreds of words in Aramaic that begin with this letter. Put another way, we would have been more inclined to accept CHYUTIN’S reconstruction had both a *mem* and a *tsade* been preserved. Second, the sense of the reconstructed line 4Q554 2 iii 17 + 4Q554 6 2 is hard to understand: אַחֲרֵי שְׂגִיָּאן וְרִשִׁין עִמָּהוֹן מַצְרַיִן בְּמִנִּין] (which CHYUTIN translates as “other great and poor with them E[gypt] in the counting [. . .]”). It seems more likely that a dictionary-form number preceded the word בְּמִנִּין and that CHYUTIN’S positioning is faulty.

4Q554 8 [*olim* JNa 5]

01

02 [מַלְכֵי מַלְכֵי דִין]

03 [אֲחִין]

Translation

- 1.
2. ...]the king of the kings, who[...
3. ...]אֲחִין[...

Notes on the Reading

This fragment, which is not identified by any edition or translation, does not appear

in PAM 41.940, 43.564, or 43.589. In the *Preliminary Concordance* we find reference to lines 2 and 3 of this fragment, which is labeled “JNa 5”;⁹⁵ the text of line 1 — if indeed there was any text — does not seem to have been recorded.⁹⁶

The basis for our associating 4Q554 8 with 4Q554 2 iii (and 4Q554 6 (= J 4, 51-54) and 4Q554 7) concerns the subject matter of 4Q554 8, which, although limited to a few words and phrases, seems to reflect the vocabulary and concerns of these other fragments.

2. מלך מלכיא [Cf. Ezra 7:12.

⁹⁵ Line 2: 2117, *qv.* יד; 2284, *qv.* מלך. Line 3: 2164, *qv.* חזי.

⁹⁶ There is a line recorded as “JNa 5,1” (2275, *qv.* מדנח), but it is quite clear that this line is in actuality “JNa 3,1” (= our 4Q554 3 line 1) and is so recorded elsewhere in the *Preliminary Concordance* as such (2069, *qv.* ב; 2446 *qv.* תלת).

4Q554 Minor Fragments

4Q554 3 (= J 5, 30) [*olim* JNa 3]

01]• במדנחא ותלתא ב•]

02]שפשין שגיאין א]

03]עשרין ר••]

Translation

1. ...]• in the east. And three *b*•[
2. ...]many posterns '[...
3. ...]twenty *r*••[...

Notes on the Readings and Reconstruction of the Text

Only BEYER and CHYUTIN include this fragment in their reconstructions, which in the *Preliminary Concordance* is labeled “JNa 3” and which shares no overlapping text with other copies of the *NJ*.

On first inspection, the vocabulary of the fragment seems to indicate that its subject matter is very similar to the section of the text preserved in 4Q554 1 i 11 - ii 10,⁹⁷ that is, the description of the wall and the named gates: the reference to a compass direction and the presence of the number “three” (recall that each of the four walls has three gates). Note, though, that the reading of “20 stadia” in line 3, however appropriate it might be to both the words of the rest of the fragment and the issue of the fragment’s place in the *NJ*, is unlikely.

⁹⁷ See also the Note on the Reading at 4Q554 1 i 10.

But the place of this fragment is very uncertain. First, the reference to שפשין in line 2 calls to mind the references to שפשיא at 4Q554 1 iii [02] (= 5Q15 1 i 8)] rather than to the subject matter of 4Q554 1 i. Second, even if we admit that it and 4Q554 1 i are part of the same section of the text on the basis of a shared vocabulary, we simply cannot tell whether 4Q554 3 (= J 5, 30) is part of the same column as 4Q554 1 i or whether it is part of a preceding column. As a result, we have resisted labeling 4Q554 3 (= J 5, 30) as part of 4Q554 1 i. Third, we have observed that 4Q554 2 i-ii also appears to describe the walls and gates of the city, so perhaps 4Q554 3 (= J 5, 30) is from a part of the text nearer to this fragment. CHYUTIN has decided that the fragment forms part of the missing right-hand portion of 4Q554 1 i 8-10, but does not suggest text that would completely link the two fragments together.

1. •[. The tail of either an *ayin* or a *lamed* is possible.

1.]ב. CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, reads בדרומא, but the stroke following the *bet* has a thickening near its base that would preclude its being a *dalet*.

2.]פ[שפשין. CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll* (“d]oors”) and BEYER, *ATTM* (“Pforten”) read פ[שפשין (so also the *Preliminary Concordance*, 2370, *qv.* פשפט, and 2410, *qv.* שגי), but note 4Q391 65, where we find שפשיא (and *cf.* 5Q15 i 8). See the discussion on the relationship between the *NJ* and 4Q391 65 in Chapter 3, §5, d.

3.]ר[עשרין. This is a difficult line. A *resh* and *aleph* would seem to be natural following עשרין, especially in light of the subject matter of 4Q554 1 i and the vast distances therein expressed. Indeed, CHYUTIN reconstructs ר]אסין, which would seem to be a natural reading since the letter following the *resh* resembles an *aleph*.

We should recall, however, that in 4Q*NJ* the unit of the unit of measurement (rods, cubits) precedes the numerical value, and so the phrase ר]אסין would be unique. This, of course, does not rule out the possibility that the quantitative value of the ר]אסין would have followed the unit of measurement. But CHYUTIN’S reconstruction is also problematic from the point of view of the text itself. A closer inspection of CT PAM 43.564 reveals the following: i) that the letter following the one identified by CHYUTIN as an *aleph* is definitely not a *shin*; and ii) that the *aleph* purported to follow the *resh* is joined to it by a ligature, and since

in all clear cases in 4Q554 1 i-iii *alephs* are never joined to letter which precedes them, it might be the case that the letter following the *resh* is a *yod* and that a shadow or a bend in the skin has caused a faint shadow, thus giving the *yod* an appearance of an *aleph*.

4Q554 4 (= J 5, 40)

01 [באר הי]

02 [ייד ונפק]

03 [ל] [י]

Translation

1. ...] a spring *h*•[...
2. ...]*y**d* and (?) issued for[th ...
3. ...]/[]•[...

Notes on the Readings

CHYUTIN incorporates this fragment into his column 7, placing it adjacent to 11Q18 10 i, but his positioning is demonstrably faulty (see Note on the Reading at line 1, below). The fragment seems to describe objects inside the city wall. The reference to the “spring,” which could also be read as “well” or even “pit,” is interesting, since the theme of flowing, living water, often in the form of a river or stream that issues forth from a place in the city, as we note in Chapter 2, is frequently part of the descriptions of the New Jerusalem. What precise role a spring/well and water play in the *NJ* is uncertain.

1. באר הי. BEYER reads] באר •[. CHYUTIN, with the text at 11Q18 10 i 2, reads שורא ון דהב טב באר (underlined text is from 11Q18 10 i 2, *apud* GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII), translating the line as “a well this wall is pure gold” (*sic*). באר שורא (so CHYUTIN) is impossible materially, since the

letter that follows באר is most definitely not a *shin*.

The bottom tip of one letter following the *he* is visible on CT PAM 43.589.

2.]יִד וּנְפִקְן[. A *yod* or *vav* is possible before the *dalet*, seen on CT PAM 43.589. BEYER, *ATTM* 2: “Und herausgehen.” CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, translates “and water wells up from”: ד וּנְפִקְן מֵיָא מַן [, (underlined text is from 11Q18 10 i 3, *apud* GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII), but see the previous Note on this joining.

3. BEYER does not include this line; CHYUTIN might (it is impossible to tell).

4Q554 5 (= J 5, 50)

ן • 01

וּכְרַכְנוּ וִין 02

אֲרַעָא יִין 03

Translation

1. •[...
2. *wkrknw w*[...
3. the earth *y*[...

Notes on the Readings

This fragment preserves a portion of the right-hand margin. CHYUTIN incorporates this fragment into his column 14, the right edge of its first two lines alongside or overlapping text at the left edge of 11Q18 18. This positioning is incorrect (see the Note on the Reading at line 3, below).

1.]יִ. Only a trace of a letter is preserved.

2. וּכְרַכְנוּ וַיִּן. BEYER and CHYUTIN וּכְרַכְנִי. Text very unclear. *Waw* at end of the word could be *yod*.

Both readings of *kap* could also be *bet*.

3. אַרְעָא יִין. CHYUTIN envisions the overlapping text to read עַל אַרְעָא (11Q18 18 2 here underlined).

But GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII read 11Q18 18 2 as עַל אֲבִנְיָן

4Q554 6 (= J 4, 51-54)

On this fragment, see above, following 4Q554 2 iii.

4Q554 7

On this fragment, see above, 4Q554 2 iii + 4Q554 7

4Q554 8

On this fragment, see above, following 4Q554 2 iii.

4Q555 Fragments

As noted in the introductory section of this chapter, 4Q555 is a third 4Q copy of the *NJ*. We have tentatively labeled six 4Q555 fragments,⁹⁸ pending their presentation in an official DJD edition. The only two 4Q555 fragments that have been published to date are 4Q555 2 and 4Q555 3, which appear in three publications.⁹⁹ These two fragments are seen at PAM 43.594, as the top two (and largest) of three fragments situated in the middle right-hand portion on the photograph. 4Q555 2 and 4Q555 3 are seen again at PAM 43.610, where they are surrounded in a square by eight smaller fragments, including the third fragment of PAM 43.594, which is situated to the immediate left of 4Q555 2 and which for convenience's sake we will call 4Q555 1. In the same photograph and above this row of the three fragments 4Q555 1-3 there is another row of three fragments that might also be part of 4Q555,¹⁰⁰ and could be provisionally labeled (from left to right) 4Q555 4-6. Below the row of the three fragments 4Q555 1-3 there is another row of four smaller fragments, each preserving the remains of a couple of words. It is unclear whether these are part of 4Q555.

The subject of the few bits of surviving text of the 4Q555 fragments appears to be the New Temple and its operation. In this 4Q555 is radically different from 4Q554 or 4Q554a, which are concerned with the architectural details of the New Jerusalem and the

⁹⁸ TIGCHELAAR observes that “at least one, and possible three more [fragments] should also be identified as 4Q555” in addition to the two that BEYER presents (Review of CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, 456), but GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “New Jerusalem,” 607, notes “only three extremely small fragments.”

⁹⁹ See GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, 1112-1113; BEYER (who labels them J 6, b and J 6, c in his *ATM* 1); and CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, although the latter's use of them in his reconstruction is problematic (see the Notes on the Reading, below). On the general correspondence between BEYER'S *sigla* and the official *sigla*, see the Introduction, note 25.

¹⁰⁰ In DJD XXIII, page 335, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR make reference to 4Q555 3 and to another, unnamed, “still unpublished small fragment probably of 4Q555,” which is our 4Q555 5.

events of the eschatological age, and which do not seem to refer to the New Temple at all. Indeed, the content of the 4Q555 fragments most resembles the content of the 11Q18 fragments (and 2Q24 4, which partially overlaps 11Q18 20), where the New Temple and its operation are the chief subject of the preserved fragments. Despite the fact that not much of 4Q555 survives, there are several examples of the parallels between it and 11Q18: there is reference to the “table” (4Q555 2 3; 11Q18 8 3; 11Q18 20 3a), the “oil” (4Q555 2 2; 11Q18 29 4), the “seventh day” (4Q555 3 3; 11Q18 19 2; 11Q18 20 1), and the “month” (4Q555 5; 11Q18 19 2).

4Q555 1

]חוא[01

]למתא ל[02

Translation

1. ...]hw' •[
2. ...]to come l•[

Notes on the Readings and Reconstruction

1.]•. Perhaps the downstroke of a *mem* or *ayin*.
2. • למתא ל. See BDB 1083, *cf.* Dan 3:2. An infinitive?

4Q555 2

01 [דיל די הן]

02 [במשח רבותנא]

03 [לה על פתורנא]

Translation

1. ...]*dyl dy h*[...
2. ...] with oil. The great [...
3. ...] *lh* on the tabl[e ...

Notes on the Readings and Reconstruction

On CHYUTIN's use of 4Q555 2 and 3, see the Note on the Reading at 4Q555 3 1-2, below.

1. [דיל די הן]. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, read [ב] [דיל די הן]; BEYER, *ATTM*, and CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, read]איל די • (BEYER: "ein Hirsch").
2. [במשח רבותנא]. So also BEYER and GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR ("with anointing oil").
3. [לה]. CHYUTIN reads ט[לה].

4Q555 3 [*olim* DCP 13]

01]•••[

02]••••[•עיא ולא]

03 [על פתורא וביומא שב]יעיא

04]יאי אלין ושתה]

Translation

1. ...]•••[...
2. ...]••••• 'y' wl'[...
3. ...] on the table. And on the sev[enth] day[...
4. ...]y' these and six[...

Notes on the Readings and Reconstruction

1-2.]•••[. This piece, along with the אול of the following line, seem to be at a 45-degree angle clockwise to the rest of the fragment. The *Preliminary Concordance* reads line 2 as] וטלא ולא (2267, qv. לא).

BEYER'S transcription of 4Q555 3 (*ATTM*) includes only the last two of the four extant lines of text, one consequence of which is evident in CHYUTIN'S reconstruction: *NJ Scroll*, his column 11, lines 10-14, where 4Q555 2-3 are situated to the left of 2Q24 4. CHYUTIN'S positioning of 4Q555 2 and 3 forces them into a state where lines 1-2 of 4Q555 3 (those not transcribed by BEYER and thus ignored by CHYUTIN) would physically overlap lines 2-3 of 4Q555 2. Obviously, this cannot be correct, as TIGCHELAAR correctly notes (*Review of CHYUTIN, NJ Scroll*, 455).

2. •••••[. The bottoms of about five (or four) letters are preserved.

3. על פתורא[. The fragment in both PAM 43.594 and 43.610 reads פתורא[, but the *Preliminary Concordance* reads על פת"א (2339, qv. על). The preposition in this position makes sense, and we can only conclude that the portion of skin upon which it was written is no longer extant.

4Q555 4

01]לבב אתרד••[

02]לן[•••ל]

Translation

1. ...]lbl 'trd••[...

2. ...]l[]•••l[...

Notes on the Readings and Reconstruction

2.]ל•••[]ל[. The top of the first *lamed* is seen under the *aleph* of the previous line. The tops of three letters precede the second *lamed*.

4Q555 5

01 [• חדשא ובין]

Translation

1. ...]• the month wb•[...

Notes on the Readings and Reconstruction

1.] חדשא ובין •[. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII, 335:]י חדשא ובי•[

4Q555 6

01 [יי דאתדני]

02 [יה] יי]

Translation

1. ...]•y d'tdn•[...

2. ...]•h[]•y•[

7. Summary and Conclusions

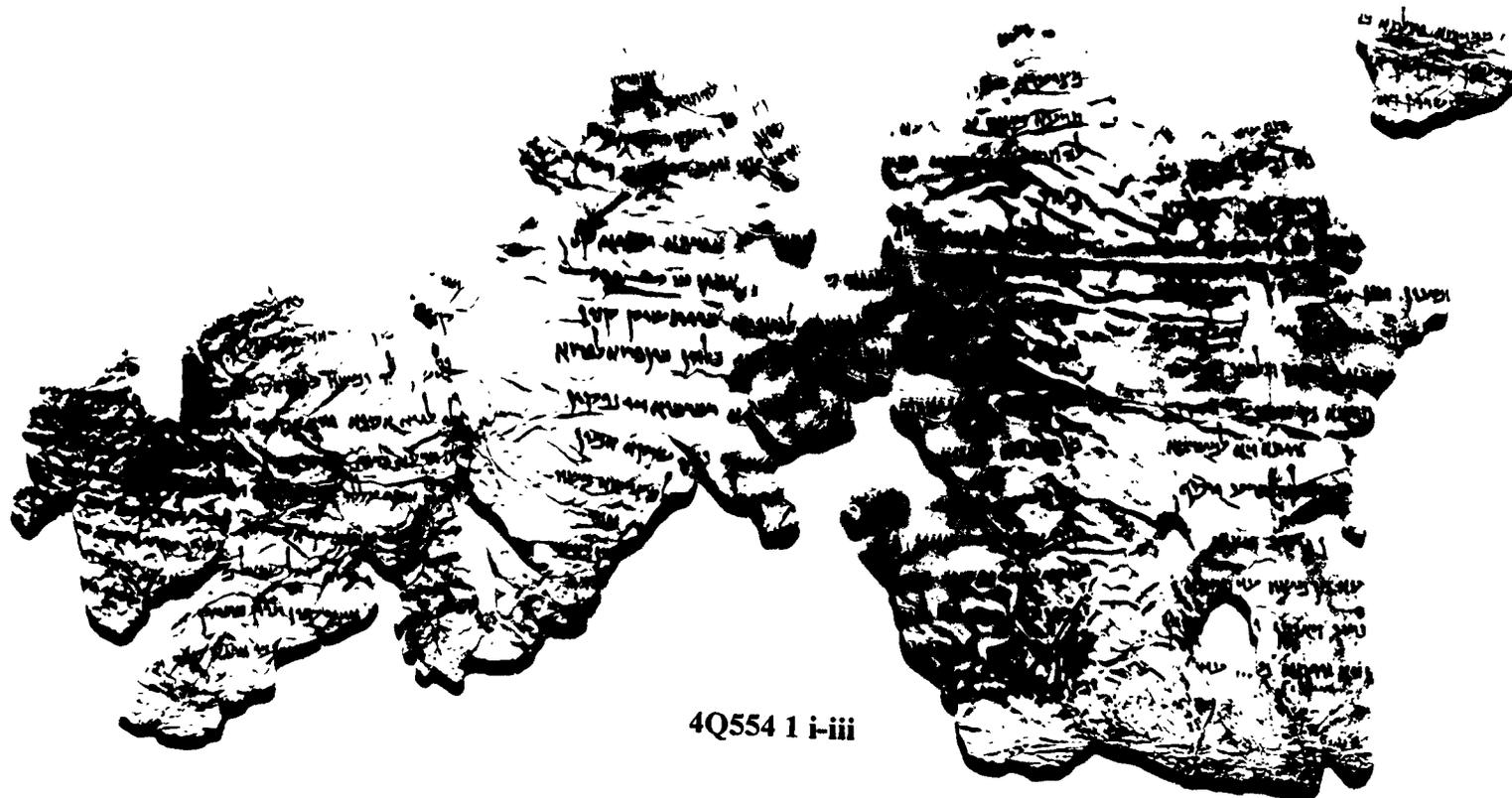
The primary purpose of this chapter was to present a working edition of the Cave 4 *New Jerusalem* fragments. To this end we have provided transcriptions, translations, and notes to 4Q554 1-8, 4Q554a, and 4Q555 1-6.

In addition, several other distinctive contributions to scholarship were made in this chapter:

- We have offered a preliminary study of some of the introductory aspects of the Cave 4 *NJ* fragments (palaeography, number palaeography, orthography, and phraseology, and line lengths) and have presented some general comments about the characteristics of 4Q554 in particular.
- We have identified several fragments that have yet to appear in an edition or translation of the Cave 4 *NJ* fragments, including 4Q554 7 and 8 and 4Q555 4-6.
- We posit that 4Q554 6-8 ought to be considered part of the section of the text that also contains the “eschatological section” of 4Q554 2 iii, and that 4Q554 7 ought to be considered to be part of 4Q554 2 iii 19-22.
- We have examined in detail É. PUECH’S argument that 4Q554 and 4Q554a are separate copies (which he stated without much in the way of supporting evidence) and prove that it is correct. In fact, our reconstruction of 4Q554a line 1 includes a possible overlap with not only 5Q15 1 ii 4-5 but also 4Q554 1 iii 22, which in the latter case eliminates any possibility that 4Q554a and 4Q554 are the same copy of the *NJ*.
- We argued that the figures most often reproduced by scholarship to express the dimensions of the city wall (100 by 140 stadia) and the number of towers along these walls (1,432) are both incorrect.

- We argued that one cannot restore the names of the gates in the city wall missing in the text at 4Q554 1 i 11 - ii 10 on the basis of what would seem to be similar lists of named gates in the *Temple Scroll* and the *Reworked Pentateuch*.

4Q554 3 (J 5, 30)

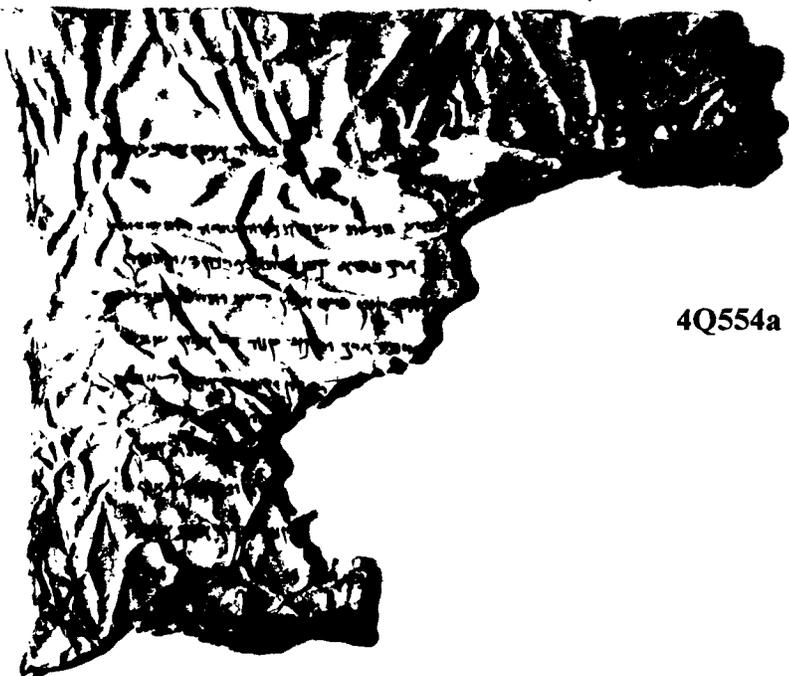


4Q554 1 i-iii



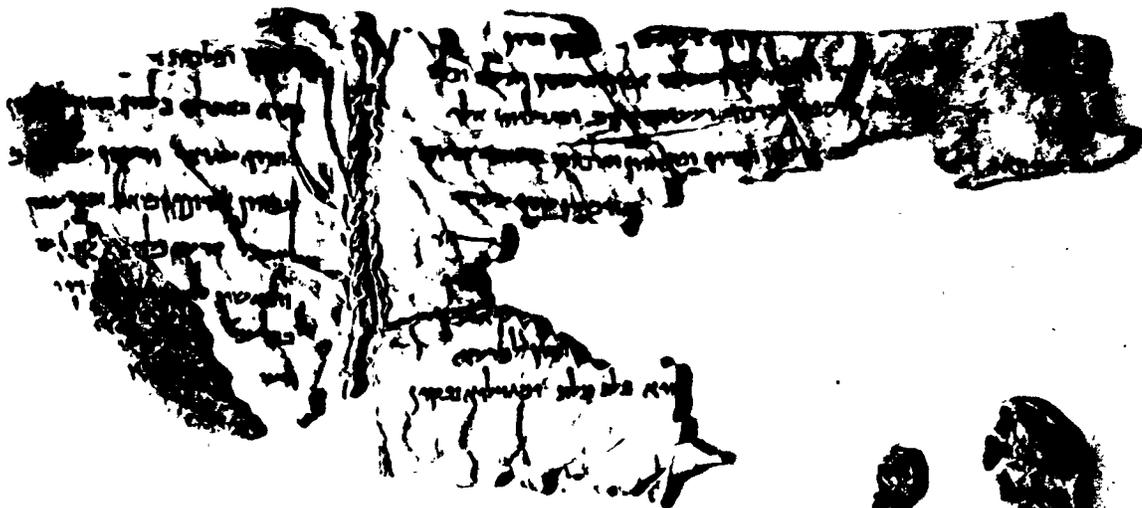
PAM 43.564

PAM 43.589



4Q554a

4Q554 2 i-iii

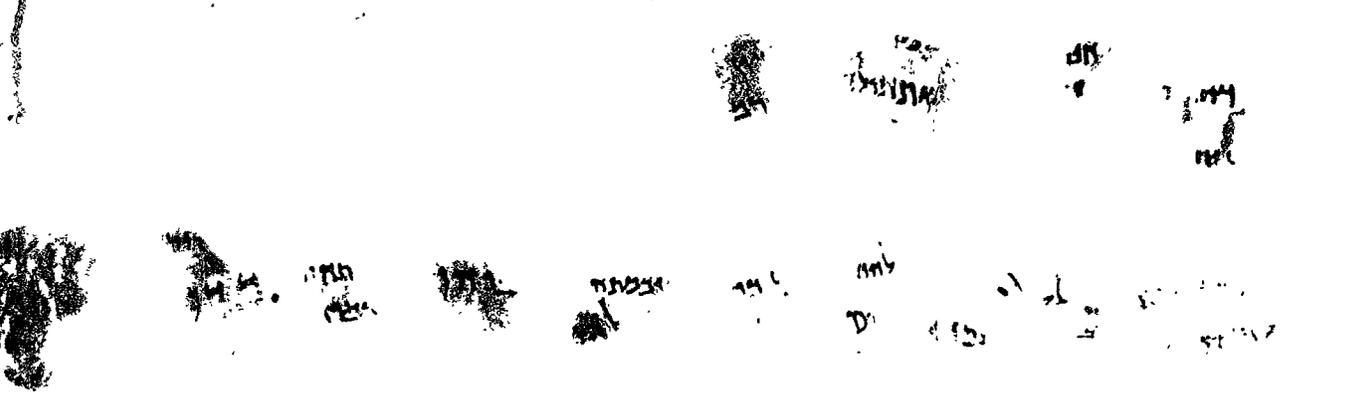
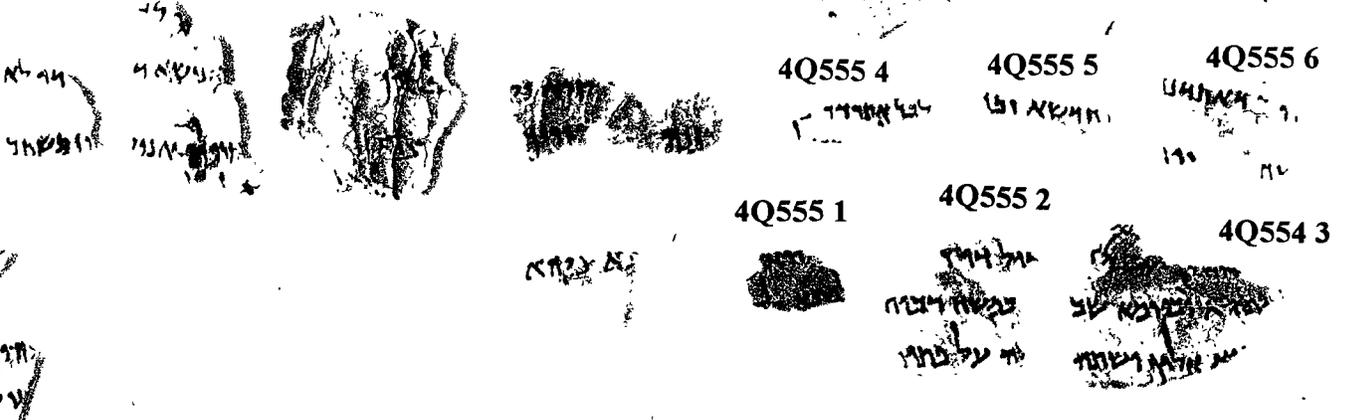
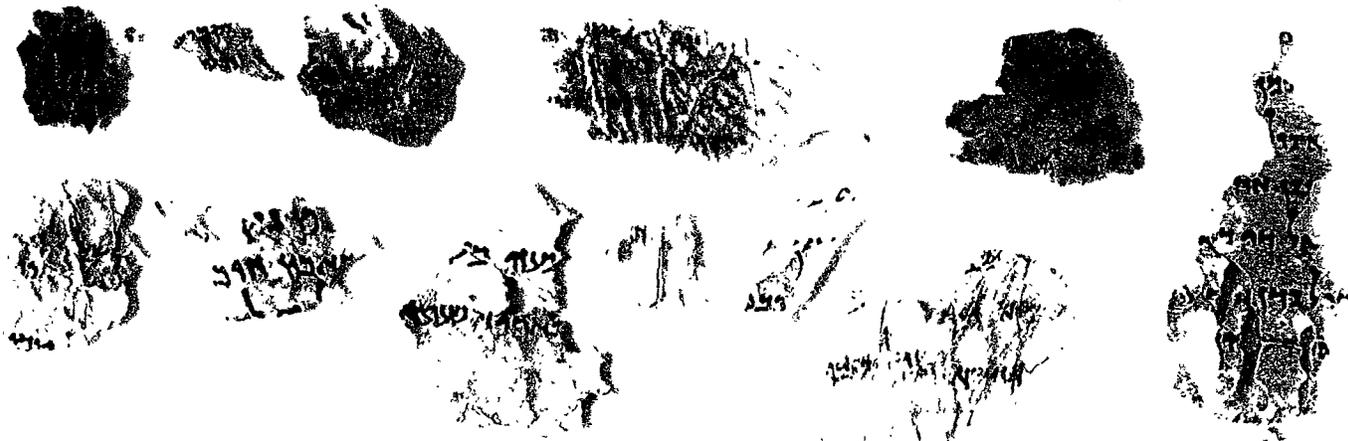


4Q554 6 (J 4, 51-54)

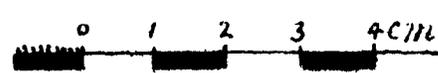
4Q554 5 (J 5, 50)

4Q554 4 (J 5, 40)





PAM 43.610



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Chapter 2

The Qumran *New Jerusalem* Text in the Context of the “New Jerusalem” Topos

In this chapter, we will examine the Qumran *New Jerusalem* text as an expression of the hope for a New Jerusalem that appears time and again throughout the biblical literature and the extra-biblical Jewish writings of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. This chapter is organized in two main parts. The first part investigates the many diverse expressions of the “New Jerusalem” topos. Our goals are to identify certain general types or categories, to highlight several themes common to the types or the topos as a whole, and to analyze the relationship among these themes in terms of possible generic or developmental links. Although these goals are intrinsically important, the primary purpose of these initial sections is to establish the background in which to situate properly and better understand the *NJ*, above all with respect to those elements of the New Jerusalem topos that specifically appear in that text. This task forms the focus of the second part of the chapter, in which we evaluate the *NJ* specifically as an expression of the topos, and the manner in which our study of the topos can answer questions relating to the genre of the *NJ*, the order

of the material in the *NJ*, and the place of the *NJ* in the world of ancient urban design.¹

A. The New Jerusalem Topos

1. Introduction

a. Previous Scholarship

The theme of the New Jerusalem usually has been studied in the medium of encyclopaedia entries² or essay-length survey studies,³ and often in the context of other topics or texts. One tendency, especially evident in earlier scholarship, has been to discuss the many elements of the various illustrations of the topos as a coherent whole, sometimes on theological grounds but more often in the belief that the elements may be listed as if they

¹ The study of the New Jerusalem topos that will be conducted in the first part of this chapter is by no means exhaustive. Most importantly, it does not include a methodical investigation of each of the many expressions of the topos in the Jewish and Christian biblical and extra-biblical literature. Also, it does not address in great detail the matter of the antecedents of the topos, especially with respect to tracing lines of influence from sources external to the biblical and extra-biblical Jewish and Christian literature. Nor does this study discuss those passages that acknowledge the passing of the old city but do not anticipate or intimate its rebuilding or renewal (on which, see F.W. DOBBS-ALLSOPP, *Weep, O Daughter of Zion: A Study of the City-Lament Genre in the Hebrew Bible* (BibOr 44; Roma, 1993), 93-94). Finally, this study does not thoroughly investigate the dimensions and design elements of the various structures of either the historical Jerusalem or of other Ancient Near Eastern or Graeco-Roman cities as they may be adduced from the archaeological, literary, and ancillary evidence (see T. PEKARY, "Die Stadt der griechisch-römischen Antike," *Die Stadt. Gestalt und Wandel bis zum industriellen Zeitalter* (ed. H. STOOB; Köln/Wien, ²1985), 81-95; W. VON SODEN, "Tempelstadt und Metropolis im Alten Orient," *Die Stadt. Gestalt und Wandel bis zum industriellen Zeitalter* (ed. H. STOOB; Köln/Wien, ²1985), 37-79), nor does it comment upon the relationship between the data obtained from such investigations and the information contained in certain New Jerusalem texts. The only exception to this last point is the discussion of the *NJ* in the context of ancient urban architecture and design, and even here the concern is with theories of planned cities rather than the particulars of their design elements.

² *Inter alia*, E. LAMIRANDE, "Jérusalem céleste," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* (Paris, 1974), 8, cols. 944-958.; P.J. KING, "Jerusalem." *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. D.N. FREEDMAN; New York, 1992), 3.763-767 at 765; and D.F. WATSON, "New Jerusalem," *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 4.1095-1096.

³ N. MESSEL, "Das himmlische Jerusalem," *Die Einheitlichkeit der jüdischen Eschatologie* (BZAW 30; Gießen, 1915), 89-101; H. BIETENHARD, "Das himmlische Jerusalem," *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (WUNT 2; Tübingen, 1950), 192-204; E. TESTA, "La 'Gerusalemme celeste': dall'Antico Oriente alla Bibbia e alla Liturgia," *BeOr* 1 (1959). 47-50; A. ALVAREZ VALDÉZ, "La nueva Jerusalén del Apocalipsis: sus raíces en el AT. El período de la 'Jerusalén reconstruida'," *RevistB* 54 (1992), 144-153.

appeared on a roster, with little thought given to the reasons as to *why* a specific text would have included certain elements and not others.⁴ In this section below only the most important and most comprehensive of the previous studies on the New Jerusalem will be discussed.

In general, the scope of enquiry on the New Jerusalem has been limited largely to several core texts that range from Ezekiel 40-48 to Revelation 21-22 and most often including only the important prophetic and apocalyptic texts.⁵ Several circumstances over the past two generations, however, have resulted in the expansion of the body of texts that are deemed to be part of the New Jerusalem corpus or meaningful to the discussion of the theme. Among the most important of these circumstances are the publication of significant Qumran texts like the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* and the increasing familiarity of scholarship with the full corpus of the pseudepigraphic literature.⁶ The net result has been a widening of the scope of the topos to include not just the classic examples of the New Jerusalem — which often meant the examples that are encountered in the biblical literature — but also

⁴ See, *inter alia*, J. DRUMMOND, *The Jewish Messiah. A Critical History of the Messianic Idea among the Jews from the Rise of the Maccabees to the Closing of the Talmud* (London, 1877), 337-344; J. BONSRVEN, "Jérusalem et le Temple," *Le judaïsme palestinien au temps de Jésus-Christ. I. La théologie dogmatique* (Paris, 1935), 429-432.

⁵ E.g., R. KNOPF, "Die Himmelstadt," *Neu Testamentliche Studien. Georg Heinrici zu seinem 70. Geburtstag (14 März 1914)* (Leipzig, 1914), 213-219; O. MICHEL, "Die 'himmlische Stadt,'" *Der Brief der Hebräer* (Göttingen, 1966), 394-395; LAMIRANDE, "Jérusalem céleste." Note also that neither the study of N.W. PORTEOUS ("Jerusalem-Zion: The Growth of a Symbol," *Verbannung und Heimkehr. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theologie Israels im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Festschrift W. Rudolf zum 70. Geburtstag* (Tübingen, 1961), 235-252) nor that of S. SAFRAI (see note 182, below) take the Qumran literature into account.

⁶ Due in part to the essentially contemporaneous publications of the major translations of the Pseudepigrapha and associated literature (e.g., the collections of J.H. CHARLESWORTH in English, H.F.D. SPARKS in English, A. DíEZ MACHO in Spanish, P. SACCHI, *et alii* in Italian, the *JSHRZ* series in German, and M. PHILONENKO and A. CAQUOT in French) and to the explosion in the study of extra-biblical literature of all types after the 1960s.

writings that hitherto were unknown or had been ignored.⁷

The scholarly literature on the subject, which most often occurs in the context of an examination of the appearance of the topos in one text or another,⁸ has tended to focus on several issues, one of which is the question of the evolution of the theme of the New Jerusalem, most particularly with respect to what was seen as its development from a relatively restrained prophetic element to an otherworldly vision of the fantastic. For example, in a series of essays A. CAUSSE examines the New Jerusalem in the context of its development from the literature of the pre-exilic period to its manifestations in later apocalyptic writings.⁹ In his pre-war essays he focuses on the theme of the glorification of Jerusalem as both the capital of the dispersed and the centre of the world, especially with reference to the idea of the pilgrimage of the people and nations. In his later article CAUSSE argues that the radical dislocation of the Babylonian exile caused a shift in expectations from

⁷ To cite several examples of this widening of the scope of investigation, S. NIDITCH plots a basic “trajectory” (the term is hers; it implies some sort of relationship among the texts, but she does not specify) of visions of cosmic cities or buildings in the later literature that includes the Qumran *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, the *NJ*, Revelation 21-22, *b. Hag* 14b, and the Hekalot literature (“Ezekiel 40-48 in a Visionary Context,” *CBQ* 48 (1986), 208-224); G. BISSOLI extends his discussion of the earthly and heavenly Temple beyond the New Testament to include many Second-Temple Jewish apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, Targumic literature, and post-70 C.E. apocalyptic and rabbinic writings (*Il tempio nella letteratura giudaica e neotestamentaria. Studio sulla corrispondenza fra tempio celeste e tempio terrestre* (SBFAn 37; Jerusalem, 1994); while O. BÖCHER does the same in his study of the origins and development of the theme of the *Völkerkrieg* against Jerusalem (“Die heilige Stadt im Völkerkrieg. Wandlungen eines apokalyptischen Schemas,” *Josephus-Studien. Untersuchungen zu Josephus, dem antiken Judentum und dem Neuen Testament. Festschrift O. Michel* (edd. O. BETZ, et alii; Göttingen, 1974), 55-76 [= *Kirche in Zeit und Endzeit. Aufsätze zur Offenbarung des Johannes* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1983), 113-132].

⁸ For this reason it would be impossible to list them completely; even a full recounting of the scholarship on the New Jerusalem as it appears in Revelation, for example, would contain hundreds of references to specific pages in the commentaries and monograph-length studies.

⁹ A. CAUSSE, “Le mythe de la nouvelle Jérusalem du Deutéro-Esaïe à la III^e Sibylle,” *RHPR* 18 (1938). 377-414; “La vision de la nouvelle Jérusalem (Esaïe LX) et la signification sociologique des assemblées de fête et des pèlerinages dans l’orient sémitique,” *Mélanges syriens. Festschrift R. Dussaud*. (BAH 30; Paris, 1939), 2.739-750; “De la Jérusalem terrestre à la Jérusalem céleste.” *RHPR* 27 (1947), 12-36.

what had been basically a romantic restoration of past glories to a supra-historical eschatological apprehension in which the things of this world played no part. Concerning the New Jerusalem, this meant a change from a revitalized earthly city to an increasingly fantastic otherworldly city.¹⁰

RISSI identifies “four different ways of looking at the Jerusalem of the future”:¹¹ i) the glorified, earthly city of Jerusalem that will stand in the future at the centre of the world; ii) the heavenly city of rabbinic texts, separate from the eschatological, rebuilt city; iii) the heavenly, pre-existent city that descends to become the eschatological, earthly city; and iv) the heavenly, pre-existent city that functions also as the eschatological city. This is a fine breakdown of the expressions of the topos on the basis of the location of the future-time city, but it ignores those themes that are not so readily compartmentalized. RISSI’S categorization also assumes that the location of the New Jerusalem is its definitive characteristic. In contrast, one might instead separate the New Jerusalems on the basis of whether the city so envisioned is the i) same size and shape as the historic city; ii) monumental and/or idealized with respect to size and shape; or iii) neither, on the basis that size and shape were left unmentioned. Such a division radically cuts across RISSI’S neat lines.

Other approaches also explore the differences between the earthly Jerusalem and its

¹⁰ Positing a different response to change as effected by the exile, R.J. MCKELVEY postulates that the store of the Ancient Near Eastern conceptions of the heavenly dwelling of the gods formed the bedrock of the idea of the New Temple that was generated by the disappointing reaction to the Second Temple and the rebuilt Jerusalem (*The New Temple*; cf. also Tob 14:5). The situation, therefore, as it actually unfolded after the exile was thought to have been unlike that which was the subject of earlier prophesy, and so these prophetic expectations were transferred from the earthly sphere to the heavenly realm. This last assumes much, not excepting a certain chronology that would have certain prophetic expectations (the basis of the disappointment) having to precede the erection of the Second Temple and other prophetic expectations (the places where the hope was transferred to the heavenly realm) having to follow it.

¹¹ RISSI, *The Future of the World*, 47-51.

celestial counterpart. S. TALMON, for example, notes that the idea of the New Jerusalem underwent a process of “de-historicization” wherein it increasingly came to be “viewed in a radiant infinitely refined vision which bears only a remote resemblance to the terrestrial city.” He further asserts that this tendency was checked in the “normative Jewish religion,” whose articulations of the future-time city were to one degree or another restorative manifestations of the historical city, whereas among “Jewish fringe groups and Christian mysticism” the tendency was to portray a vision of the new city completely unfettered by the limitations of the old Jerusalem and its historical context.¹² TALMON’S first thesis is to some extent borne out by the evidence. His second thesis, however, is suspect in that it not only depends on the existence of a “normative Jewish religion,” but it also might suffer from what appears to be, in the absence of supporting data, a circular argument: the more extreme illustrations of the New Jerusalem are characteristic of these fringe groups, which are fringe groups because they contain such extreme illustrations.¹³ In addition, as we will demonstrate later in this chapter,¹⁴ an examination of the many expressions of the topos suggests TALMON’S two categories of restorative and unfettered New Jerusalems (which, in §2, a-b, below, we call the “restored” and “monumental” types) cannot be identified with certain groups or traditions within Second Temple Judaism.

Another difficulty with previous attempts to classify the expressions of the New

¹² TALMON, “Biblical Concept,” 197-198.

¹³ In addition, these conceptions about Judaism of the Second Temple period (especially ideas of a “normative” Judaism and “fringe” groups) are very much products of and employ the vocabulary of scholarship of a previous generation.

¹⁴ See §4, below.

Jerusalem in the literature is that the presence of so many common elements in these expressions undermines any attempt to isolate one element as the basis for a comprehensive categorization of the topos. P.J. KING, for example, writes that “the eschatological expectations of Judaism and Christianity regarding Jerusalem and the Temple are quite different” based on a list of texts which anticipated a heavenly New Jerusalem that either would descend to earth or would function as a place to which the just would ascend.¹⁵ Too broad generalizations also plague the argument of URBACH, who posits that while the Sages “preserved a realistic image of Jerusalem and worked towards its restoration,” the apocalyptic writers repeatedly portrayed monstrous heavenly cities festooned with jewels and descending earthwards.¹⁶ As will be demonstrated, this understanding is an aggregate view that ignores the many expressions of the topos in apocalyptic contexts that are neither heavenly nor monstrous.

Another study that discusses the relationship between the earthly and heavenly Jerusalem is the essay of L. ROSSO UBIGLI.¹⁷ Positing that the heralding of the celestial Jerusalem also marks the advent of the new age, she distinguishes between, on one hand, what she understands to be the older strata of apocalyptic thought (represented by the *Animal Apocalypse*, the *Psalms of Solomon*, and the *Testament of Dan*) wherein the two ages in a sense exist concurrently and, on the other hand, texts like *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, where the two worlds do not co-exist. Thus the development of the theme of the New Jerusalem is part

¹⁵ “Jerusalem,” 3.763-767 at 765.

¹⁶ E.E. URBACH, “ירושלים של מטה וירושלים של מעלה.” [English Summary, 65]

¹⁷ L. ROSSO UBIGLI, “Dalla ‘nuova Gerusalemme’ alla ‘Gerusalemme celeste’: contributo per la comprensione dell’Apocalittica,” *Hen* 3 (1981), 69-80.

of the general development of apocalyptic eschatology.

A completely different tack is taken by E. GAINES, who in her unpublished 1987 Princeton Theological Seminary dissertation classifies the expressions of the theme of the “eschatological Jerusalem” (the term she prefers) by their primary function within the literature in which these expressions appear. She concludes that there are four categories of function: i) as a response to the physical city (First and Second Isaiah, Ezekiel 40-48, Haggai, and Zechariah 1-9, *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, *SibOr 5*, and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*) ii) as a critique of the Jewish cultic centre (Third Isaiah, Zechariah 12-14, the Qumran literature, *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the *Psalms of Solomon*) iii) as a theological apologetic (Galatians and Hebrews); and iv) as a motivation for righteousness (Joel, Tobit 13-14, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *SibOr 3*, Sirach 36, and Revelation 21-22).¹⁸ There are both strengths and weaknesses to this approach. GAINES’ use of the function of the expressions of the topos as the lens through which one might understand the theme as a whole rightly concentrates the discussion on the way in which individual expressions were formulated in order to fulfill these functions. On the other hand, rigidly compartmentalizing the expressions into her four categories does not permit the possibility that a particular expression of the New Jerusalem might have played multiple roles, or indeed might have fulfilled a function not addressed by these four categories. Moreover, her completely

¹⁸ While we deeply disagree with her view that the texts that she identifies as belonging to this category mention the new city as a motivational device only, her view that the New Jerusalem might play such a role is sound. The New Jerusalem is often envisioned as a place where the righteous will dwell, a theme that becomes more explicit and better-defined in the later examples of the topos. The motivation for righteousness does not involve the city itself — it will be built, appear, and/or descend from heaven regardless of the course of human events. Instead, the image of the New Jerusalem functions as a present-time exhortation for the people to remain righteous, on the grounds that only the righteous will enter the city.

synchronic approach automatically assumes that there exists no evolutionary development of the New Jerusalem theme at any level.

b. Antecedents of the Topos

The antecedents of the idea of the New Jerusalem have been examined in some detail, although three principal reasons hinder most attempts to detail coherently the ways in which these antecedents have played a role in specific expressions of the topos. First, because the topos was itself never a static entity, but was reworked and reused in various texts and in response to different circumstances, it is not always possible to identify clear lines of influence.¹⁹ An example here is the Canaanite “cosmic mountain” theme that seems to underpin a number of passages in the psalmic and prophetic literature. That this tradition stands behind the New Jerusalem theme in a general way is possible, even probable, but whether it played a direct role in shaping the expression of the theme in such a relatively late work as *Sibylline Oracle 5* is highly unlikely. Second, many of the elements of the topos are clearly dependent on two or more traditions, each of which might have played a contributing role in both its articulation and in the ways in which it was meant to have been apprehended by the audience. For example, the presentation of the New Jerusalem of Revelation 21-22 is very much dependent on the “monumental” type of the topos first expressed in Ezekiel 40-

¹⁹ The assertion of G. VON RAD is instructive. Referring to the New Jerusalem elements in First Isaiah (par. Micah) and Second and Third Isaiah, he writes, “It is very difficult for us properly to evaluate on the one hand the remarkable interdependence of these ancient and well-established eschatological conceptions, and on the other hand the free adaptation of them. One gets the impression that [First] Isaiah has taken material which was originally no doubt of very diverse origin, and has welded it together as tightly as possible into one basic concept. Yet *Isa. LX* makes it clear that a much wider scope might be allowed to the poetic imagination.” (“Die Stadt auf dem Berg,” *EvT* 8 (1948-1949), 439-447. [= “The City on the Hill,” *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Trans. E.W.T. DICKEN; Edinburgh/London, 1966), 232-242 at 239].

48, but also calls to mind the themes of Jerusalem as God's chosen city and Jerusalem as the centre of the world. Third, there exist a host of traditions that centre around the historic Jerusalem that were not necessarily translated into eschatological expectations, but which are nevertheless part of the symbolic stock from which the idealized, utopian expectation was drawn.²⁰ The persistent image of Jerusalem as the city of peace,²¹ for instance, is not directly represented in the New Jerusalem passages although it partially underpins the theme of the new city as the place where the once-hostile nations now gather, humbled. Another theme that also seems to be related to the expectation for the New Jerusalem is the belief that the city of Jerusalem was and would always be important to the people of Israel, a theme witnessed in both the pre-exilic and post-exilic periods.²²

The antecedents of the biblical and extra-biblical manifestations of the new city or Temple may be grouped into six broad categories:²³ i) the divine-mountain theme,²⁴ where the hill on which Jerusalem is situated is regarded as a high mountain, and in some cases

²⁰ See, *inter alia*, K. SEYBOLD, "Jerusalem in the View of the Psalms," *The Centrality of Jerusalem. Historical Perspectives* (edd. M. POORTHUIS and Ch. SAFRAI; Kampen, 1996), 7-14.

²¹ See M. WEINFELD, "Zion and Jerusalem as Religious and Political Capital: Ideology and Utopia," *The Poet and Historian. Essays in Literary and Historical Biblical Criticism* (ed. R.E. FRIEDMAN; HSS 26; Chico, CA, 1983), 75-115 at 103-104, and PORTEOUS, "Jerusalem-Zion," *passim*.

²² See P. BEENTJES, "Jerusalem in the Book of Chronicles," *The Centrality of Jerusalem. Historical Perspectives* (edd. M. POORTHUIS and Ch. SAFRAI; Kampen, 1996), 15-28.

²³ See also the thorough survey of the Zion traditions by ROBERTS, "Zion Tradition," 985-987. In her study of how the image of the New Jerusalem functions in the writings of which it is a part, GAINES classifies the fundamental motifs associated with the image into two categories ("Eschatological Jerusalem," 35-77). The first category consists of those elements that have their root in the Zion Tradition in the Hebrew Bible, and encompasses the motifs of the cosmic mountain, the "perpetual day" (the banishment of night/darkness), and the pilgrimage of the nations. The second category includes themes that are associated with the idea of paradise: the motif of the tree of life, the motif of the streams of paradise, and the lapidary motif (involving precious stones). In this chapter we will discuss some of these motifs as they become relevant to the discussion.

²⁴ See, especially, R.J. CLIFFORD, "Zion Traditions," *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the OT* (HSM 4; Cambridge, MA, 1972), 131-160.

identified as Mount Zaphon, “the site of the divine assembly in Israelite thought”;²⁵ ii) the omphalos-traditions,²⁶ which encompass Ancient Near Eastern²⁷ and Hellenistic²⁸ ideas of the heavenly city or the heavenly Temple-City²⁹ in the centre of the world,³⁰ or which speak of Jerusalem-Zion as the centre;³¹ iii) the Ancient Near Eastern and biblical idea of a paradise,³² either this-worldly or other-worldly, and, tangentially, the ancient conceptions of utopias;³³ iv) the general ideas of renewal and restoration in ancient mythology, sometimes involving cyclical ideas of history, which can also be associated with the ideas

²⁵ ROBERTS, “Zion Tradition,” 985.

²⁶ See B.S. CHILDS, *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament* (SBT 27; London, 1960, 83-93); S. TERRIEN, “The Omphalos Myth and Hebrew Religion,” *VT* 29 (1970), 317-338. *N.b.* the criticisms of S. TALMON, “The ‘Navel of the Earth’ and the Comparative Method,” *Scripture in History and Theology. Essays in Honor of J. Coert Rylaarsdam* (edd. A.L. MERRILL and T.W. OVERHOLT; Pittsburgh, 1977), 243-268.

²⁷ R.J. MCKELVEY, *The New Temple* (OTM; Oxford, 1969).

²⁸ K.L. SCHMIDT, “Jerusalem als Urbild und Abbild,” *ErJb* 18 (1950) [*Festschrift C.J. Jung*], 207-248. [= *Neues Testament — Judentum — Kirche. Kleine Schriften* (ed. G. SAUTER; TBNT 69; München, 1981), 265-306.] SCHMIDT concentrates on the New Testament and patristic expression of the topos and, most importantly, concludes that while Platonic (and Hellenistic) conceptions of the ideal city were no doubt important to the development of the tradition in these early Christian writings, much of the evolution of and variations on the topos were worked out in the Jewish apocalyptic and rabbinic writings. In addition, even those elements that might be identified as deriving from the stock of the Greek philosophical tradition could have been drawn from other ancient religions.

²⁹ R.G. HAMERTON-KELLY, “The Temple and the Origins of Jewish Apocalyptic,” *VT* 20 (1970), 1-15 at 6-8.

³⁰ See WEINFELD, “Zion and Jerusalem,” 104-114.

³¹ Ezek 38:12; *1 En* 26.1; *Jub* 8.19; and see P. GRELOT, “Un parallèle babylonien d’Isaïe lx et du Psaume lxxii,” *VT* 7 (1957), 319-321. See also the early essays of A. CAUSSE.

³² On the theme in the Second Temple period, note especially S. ROSENKRANZ, “Vom Pardies zum Tempel,” *Tempelkult und Tempelzerstörung (70 n. Chr.)*. *Festschrift für Clemens Thoma zum 60. Geburtstag* (edd. S. LAUER and H. ERNST; JudCh 15; Bern, 1995), 27-131. ROBERTS mentions “the river of paradise” as one of the motifs that belong to the complex of motifs employed to glorify Jerusalem/Zion as YHWH’s royal city, but many of the examples he cites are those which appear in the context of the New Jerusalem (“Zion Tradition,” 985); on the theme of living waters, see below.

³³ See the discussion in J.H. EBACH, “Kritik und Utopie. Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von Volk und Herrscher im Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel (Kap. 40-48),” Diss: Hamburg, 1972, 207-235.

of “new creation”³⁴ that are present in the biblical tradition, and the ideas revolving around the relationship of the Urzeit and Endzeit; v) the biblical assertions that Jerusalem was YHWH’s holy and chosen city,³⁵ the faithful city,³⁶ the city of promise that could never be conquered³⁷; and vi) the Babylonian and Classical ideas of the *urbs quadrata*³⁸ and Greco-Roman city planning, including the conception and execution of ideal³⁹ or planned (orthogonal) cities.⁴⁰ Naturally, some theories on the origins and development of the topos can accommodate several complementary antecedents or influences, and certain themes cannot always be so neatly segregated into discrete compartments (example: ideal cities and utopias). Furthermore, it must be admitted that a number of these elements were already associated with each other long before the first appearance of the New Jerusalem in the

³⁴ D.M. RUSSELL, *The “New Heavens and New Earth.” Hope for the Creation in Jewish Apocalyptic and the New Testament* (Studies in Biblical Apocalyptic Literature 1; Philadelphia, 1996).

³⁵ 1 Kgs 8:44, 11:32, 11:36, 14:21; 2 Kgs 21:7; 2 Chr 6:14, 12:13.

³⁶ Cf. Ps 132:13, etc.

³⁷ Cf. Pss 46 and 48, etc. See R. DE VAUX, “Jérusalem et les prophètes,” *RB* 73 (1966), 481-509 at 495-509. Other images include Jerusalem/Zion as the centre of prayer (Dan 6:11), and the nexus of pilgrimage (Psalm 122).

³⁸ W. MÜLLER, *Die heilige Stadt. Roma quadrata, himmlisches Jerusalem und die Mythe vom Weltnabel* (Stuttgart, 1961). See also the reply by H. STRAUBE, “Die heilige Stadt,” *Kairos* 5 (1963), 215-219.

³⁹ H. GREßMANN, “Das ideale Stadtbild in der hellenistischen Religion,” *Die 55. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner 29.9-2.10 (1925)* [Eine Zusammenfassung in *Gym* 36 (1925), 183-185]; T. COMBLIN, *Théologie de la ville* (Paris, 1968), 205-207; D.H. LEBRAM, “Der Idealstaat der Juden,” *Josephus-Studien. Festschrift für O. Michael* (edd. O. BETZ, et alii; Göttingen, 1974), 233-253; H. ROSENAU, “The Ancient Tradition,” *The Ideal City: Its Architectural Evolution in Europe* (London/New York, 1983), 9-22; A. DEMANDT, *Der Idealstaat. Die politischen Theorien der Antike* (Köln/Weimar/Wien, 1993); and U. SIM, *Das himmlische Jerusalem in Apk 21,1-22,5 im Kontext biblisch-jüdischer Tradition und antiken Städtebaus* (BAC 25; Trier, 1997).

⁴⁰ Even these broad categories do not fully classify the antecedents. For example, as SCHMIDT shows, the idea of Urbild and Abbild has roots both in the extra-biblical tradition and in Hellenistic philosophy (see his “Jerusalem als Urbild und Abbild”).

literature.⁴¹

c. Defining the “New Jerusalem”

Titles and labels are important — not only do they convey specific information about a subject, but they also have the ability to carry with them a whole set of unstated assumptions and presuppositions. Both of these statements are true with respect to the title “New Jerusalem.”

In the ancient sources themselves, the new and anticipated future-time city of Jerusalem may be referred to simply as “Jerusalem”⁴² or “Zion,”⁴³ or may be assigned an entirely new name⁴⁴ or even be called by a new epithet.⁴⁵ There is no doubt, however, that in every case where the future-time city is mentioned in the literature, it is meant to be the *New* (as opposed to the *Old*) *Jerusalem*, even if it is called by a different name or epithet or, more commonly, not called by any name at all. Indeed, “New Jerusalem” should be considered both as a name proper and, even if the name is unstated, as a title. This distinction between name and title might be apprehended in the difference between the name “New

⁴¹ See, e.g., J.D. LEVENSON, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40-48* (HSM 10; Missoula, 1976), who brilliantly argues that the combination of the Canaanite sacred mountain motif and the Mesopotamian idea of paradise occurred very early in Israelite history, and definitely long before Ezekiel 40-48.

⁴² E.g. Isa 60:1.

⁴³ E.g., Isa 49:14.

⁴⁴ The name of the new city of Ezekiel is יהודה שמה (48:35). While the name “Jerusalem” is not explicitly mentioned in the *Temple Scroll*, first-person phrases like “my city,” “the city of my Temple,” and “the city in whose midst I dwell” are common (cf. 11Q19 xlv 12, 13, xlvii 4, 12, etc). See also note 45, below.

⁴⁵ So Isa 1:26, 60:14, 62:2-4, Jer 3:17, Zech 8:3.

York,” which is a city separate from the English city of York but named for it, and the title “New Rome,” as it was applied first to Constantinople and later to Moscow, which became famous as the “Third Rome.” The latter application of the title “New” evokes the idea that essential, often intangible, essences of the old place have been wholly transferred to the new. This idea of the transfer⁴⁶ of essential qualities is as true in the case of Ezekiel, wherein the new city is called by a completely different name,⁴⁷ as it is in that of Revelation, wherein we find the explicit name of the “New Jerusalem.” In other words, the historical significance of the city, if not completely retained in every detail, is *fundamentally* transferred to an extra-historical milieu. Incidentally, this helps explain why, in certain cases, the present city could be standing while texts describing the New Jerusalem were written — simply put, the essence of the city or Temple was for one reason or another no longer associated with the historical city or Temple.⁴⁸

Scholarship has employed several different names to describe the expected Jerusalem of the future as it appears in the ancient literature. Examples include the “New Jerusalem,” the “Celestial” or “Heavenly Jerusalem,” the “Eschatological Jerusalem,” the “Future Jerusalem,” and the “Ideal Jerusalem,”⁴⁹ some of which are explicitly found in the ancient

⁴⁶ Or preservation, if the expression is a “restored” type.

⁴⁷ In the case of Ezekiel, for example, despite the presence of a new name, it is quite plain that the terrain through which the stream flows as it exits the Temple (47:8-12) is the terrain as it would be mapped from Jerusalem, and the land distribution of chapter 48 is not charted on some alien geography but on the historic land of Israel (this point is also asserted at 40:2).

⁴⁸ Thus the Qumran community could consider the Jerusalem and Temple of their own time unfit, but still look forward to a New Jerusalem and a New Temple.

⁴⁹ On the term “Ideal Jerusalem,” see the discussion in §2, b, below.

literature.⁵⁰ Strictly speaking, however, these terms do not always mean precisely the same thing, and in some cases the terminology utilized by scholarship is inappropriate or even unintentionally misleading.

Perhaps the term most often employed is the “Heavenly Jerusalem.” Part of the problem with this term is that “heavenly” (or “celestial”) can have a variety of meanings, an indeterminacy that necessarily has an impact on the process of the identification of the types of New Jerusalems. For instance, R.H. CHARLES argues that the first statement of the New Jerusalem is to be found only as late as the *Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch*, which dates from the period around 164 BCE, since the text refers not to a purification of the old city, but rather envisions its complete replacement by a heavenly Jerusalem.⁵¹ On the other hand, M.E. STONE observes that the idea of the “heavenly Jerusalem” of *4 Ezra* 7.26 “has roots in the Bible and is widely diffused throughout the literature of the Second Temple Age and after,” and cites a full list of expressions of the topos. His list, however, is replete with “heavenly” Jerusalems by only the broadest definition of the term, even though later in the same paragraph he himself severely restricts the definition — “the city is heavenly inasmuch as it preexists and appears wondrously.”⁵² This definition describes only a small portion of

⁵⁰ E.g., “New Jerusalem”: *Test Dan* 5.12, *Rev* 3:12, 21:2; “Heavenly Jerusalem”: *Gal* 4:26; *4 Bar* 5.35. R. MARTIN-ACHARD argues that the term “New Jerusalem” is inappropriate on the grounds that the Hebrew Bible never mentions the title nor uses the adjective new to qualify the noun “Jerusalem,” and that the use of the title in the later literature is ambiguous, referring at times to the renewal of the old Jerusalem and at times to a pre-existent heavenly city (“Esaïe LIV et la nouvelle Jérusalem,” *Congress Volume. Vienna, 1980* (ed. J.A. EMERTON; VTSup 32. Leiden, 1981), 238-262 at 238-240). In our view, however, this dual function is precisely what makes the term “New Jerusalem” an appropriate one to describe the varieties of the topos.

⁵¹ R.H. CHARLES, *The Apocalypse of Baruch, Translated from the Syriac, Chapters I-LXXVII from the Sixth Cent. MS in the Ambrosian Library of Milan, and Chapters LXXVIII-LXXXVII — the Epistle of Baruch — from a New and Critical Text Based on Ten MSS and Published Herewith. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Indices* (London, 1896).

⁵² M.E. STONE, *Fourth Ezra* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, 1990), 213-214 and note 47.

the texts that contain reference to an expected future-time Jerusalem.

The principal difficulty with the term “Heavenly Jerusalem” resides with the range of uses for the adjective. It might indicate authorship: a law or commandment might be heavenly, for example, if it is thought to be divinely given (like the Decalogue or the legislation of the *Temple Scroll*, the latter presented in the first person) or considered a reflection of an eternal code or system of behaviour (like the understanding that the Law is eternally in effect even though at a certain point in the past it had yet to be revealed to humankind).⁵³ More loosely, “heavenly” authorship might include the understanding, common enough to the apocalyptic literature, that history was God’s province⁵⁴ and thereby, in an ultimate sense, events both historical and eschatological were caused and controlled by heaven. “Heavenly” could also refer to the point of origin, which might be just another way of stating authorship. For instance, a certain series of measurements, spatial relationships, or even boundaries that are to be effected on the earth between that which is sacred or profane might themselves be understood as reflections of heavenly verities.⁵⁵ The idea of a heavenly point of origin might also include anything that was pre-existent, having been created in heaven and later appearing on earth. Alternately, “heavenly” could refer simply to the destination itself, in the sense that something ultimately ends up in heaven and not on earth, regardless of its origin. As a result of this wide range of the meaning of the adjective, the term “Heavenly Jerusalem” could mean different things in different contexts.

⁵³ See Chapter 3, note 176, and the text to which the note refers.

⁵⁴ M.E. STONE, “Reactions to the Destruction of the Second Temple,” *JSJ* 12 (1981), 195-204 at 197-198.

⁵⁵ On this aspect of the act of measuring, see §2, e, below.

Another difficulty with the term “Heavenly Jerusalem” is that it tends to be used inappropriately to refer to *every* expression of the New Jerusalem. This process of homogenization often stems from an understanding of Revelation 21-22, which contains the quintessential expression of the new city that descends from heaven. To cite one example among many of how the New Jerusalem of Revelation might have this effect, H. STEGEMANN writes that the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* is a city “that God has readied in heaven ... [the] picture of this New Jerusalem as a city ready and waiting in heaven corresponds to the one in the Revelation of John in the New Testament (Revelation 21).”⁵⁶ But this supposed correspondence with the new city of Revelation *is the only evidence* that STEGEMANN provides to support his statement that the new city of the *NJ* is a heavenly, pre-existent creation. Although this was obviously not STEGEMANN’S intention, in effect his statement begs the question as to why, of all the many and different expressions of the topos, its particular articulation in Revelation should alone provide the context by which the new city in the *NJ* is evaluated. Furthermore, STEGEMANN’S statement assumes, without proof or explanation, that the most appropriate way of comprehending the new city of a second-century BCE text⁵⁷ like the *NJ* is to compare it with the new city from a late first-century CE apocalypse like Revelation.

An additional danger pursuant to this tendency to lump together all the expressions of the theme under the rubric of the “Heavenly Jerusalem” arises whenever the definition

⁵⁶ *The Library of Qumran. On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge, 1998 [German orig. 1993]), 98.

⁵⁷ The date is our suggestion; see the Conclusion to this dissertation. In fact, STEGEMANN suggests an even earlier date, situating the date of composition in the third or even fourth century BCE (99).

precedes a theory of the evolution of these expressions, involving, as it usually does, a relatively simple description of the progress from pre-exilic roots of the theme to its fated and logical culmination, as it were, in the trio of post-70 texts: Revelation 21-22, *2 Baruch*, and *4 Ezra*. One illustration, *inter alia*, of the tendency of the “Heavenly Jerusalem” to operate in such a fashion is provided by R. LONGENECKER, who writes,⁵⁸

References to a ‘heavenly Jerusalem’ are to be found in embryonic form in the Jewish Scriptures (e.g., Ps 87:3; Isa 54 (the opening verse of which Paul quotes in 4:27); Ezek 40-48), in Jewish wisdom literature (e.g. Sir 36:13ff; Tob 13), and in more developed form in the apocalyptic writings of Second Temple Judaism (*cf. 1 Enoch* 53.6; 90.28-29; *2 Enoch* 55.2; *Pss.Sol.* 17.33; *4 Ezra* 7:26; 8:52; 10.25-28; *2 Apoc. Bar.* 4.2-6; 32.2; 59.4; also of relevance here are 1QM 12.1-2 and 4QShirShab, which speak of angelic ministry in a heavenly temple).

As this chapter will demonstrate, while it is true to state that the expressions of the New Jerusalem found in the literature dating from the middle of the first century CE to the middle of the second are predominantly “heavenly” and/or pre-existent types (in a most general way), it is incorrect to imply that these types are the result of an evolutionary process.⁵⁹

For its part, the “Eschatological Jerusalem” is often a perfectly appropriate term,

⁵⁸ R.N. LONGENECKER, *Galatians* (WBC 41; Dallas, 1990), 214. Italics added.

⁵⁹ Speaking of the two broad ways that he understands that the future Jerusalem was envisioned (this-worldly hopes of the prophets vs. other-worldly hopes of the apocalyptists), J.M. COURT writes, “But even if these divisions are somewhat artificial, it is helpful to be able to sort out the various expressions by their dominant idea, *so long as one does not expect to find a neat line of development linking them in a chronological or thematic chain.*” [italics added] (J.M. COURT, “The New Jerusalem,” *Myth and History in the Book of Revelation* (Atlanta, 1979) 154-159 at 154).

although even here there is the potential for misunderstanding. “Eschatology” properly “signifies the doctrine of the last things,”⁶⁰ and is a term that may be applied in either a narrow or broad sense, the latter referring to a future “in which the circumstances of history are changed to such an extent that one can speak of a new, entirely different, state of things, without, in so doing, leaving the framework of history.”⁶¹ This broad definition certainly suits nearly all the expressions of the New Jerusalem topos that will be examined, although it must be admitted that the element of change, while a *common* component of the broad definition of eschatology, is not a *fundamental* one.⁶²

The difficulty with the term “Eschatological Jerusalem” in the context of this study arises primarily in the context of *apocalyptic* eschatology, or the narrow definition of “eschatology,” in which most often “the future” (as a general concept) is replaced by a supra-historical period. The eschatological age, then, as it usually appears in the context of apocalyptic literature, is this discrete supra-historical epoch whose appearance will terminate the present, historical age. In addition, there are a whole series of events associated with the eschatological age. These events, while not always present in every apocalypse or text that contains apocalyptic sections, reappear with such frequency in the literature that this type of full-blown eschatology, which becomes the predominant form of future-time speculation in the Second Temple period, is rightly classified as a specific eschatological type. But not all expected futures in literature containing the expectation of a New Jerusalem are

⁶⁰ E. JENNI, “Eschatology of the OT,” *IDB*, 2.126-133 at 126.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² See, e.g., the definition in J.J. COLLINS, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London/New York, 1997), xv: “Matters pertaining to the end of history or to the afterlife of the individual.”

apocalyptic futures, and so not all New Jerusalems are eschatological Jerusalems.

A final point on matters of definition concerns the Temple. With reference to the limited goals of this study, there is no reason to separate the expressions of the New Jerusalem from those of the New Temple.⁶³ Although there are exceptions to the rule,⁶⁴ in almost all the late pre-exilic and post-exilic texts the Temple in Jerusalem is held to be the seat of the divine presence. In addition, while the inclusion of the New Jerusalem or the New Temple (or both) in a text needs to be explained, there is not always enough evidence to explain the absence of one or the other. Indeed, in a number of cases — especially those in which either the new Temple or city is mentioned only briefly — the question is often moot.

As a result of this discussion of the problems of definition, it is clear that the term “New Jerusalem” is the more utilitarian and meaningful term for describing the various expressions of the phenomenon.⁶⁵ It refers to the expected, future-time Jerusalem — whether the name of the city is explicit or can be reasonably inferred — as it appears in Jewish and Christian literature of the biblical and extra-biblical literature of antiquity.⁶⁶ It takes into

⁶³ There certainly is no reason to label the *NJ* “The New Jerusalem and Its New Sanctuary,” as B.Z. WACHOLDER suggests, on the grounds that the text contains the description of both city and sanctuary (“The Ancient Judaeo-Aramaic Literature (500-164 BCE). A Classification of Pre-Qumranic Texts,” *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. L.H. SCHIFFMAN; JSPSup 8, JSOT/ASOR Monographs 2; Sheffield, 1990), 257-281 at 264). Unless otherwise indicated (*cf.* Revelation 21-22), one would expect all New Jerusalems to have Temples.

⁶⁴ Examples of this include the hill-shrines of the pre-exilic times against which so many of the prophets railed, the temples at Elephantine and Leontopolis, and the Samaritan sect.

⁶⁵ Thus J.C. GREENFIELD, review of DJD III, *JAOS* 89 (1969), 128-141 at 132: “[the] ‘Description of the New Jerusalem’ ... rather than ‘Description of a Heavenly Jerusalem’ as proposed by R. Meyer ... seems appropriate.”

⁶⁶ The temporal limitation is imposed only in the context of the examination conducted in this chapter. “New Jerusalem,” of course, is a term whose application extends to the present time, including, for example, the post-Waco theological speculations of the surviving Branch Davidians, whose “New Jerusalem” is a giant spacecraft that will collect the elect and transport them off the planet and into the Void.

account every New Jerusalem:

- whether the new city will appear in heaven or on earth, or even whether it will appear first in heaven and then descend to earth;

- whether the new city is portrayed as a pre-existent entity that will be manifested in the future or as one that will be constructed or created in the future age;

- whether or not the appearance of the new city is presented as a specifically eschatological event;

- whether the appearance of the new city stands alone, as the subject of a discrete prediction about the future, or is presented as one element in a connected series of expected future events;

- whether the new city architecturally mirrors the historical city in its size, shape, and various urban structural elements, or is a monumental, uniform creation that sprawls across enormous tracts of territory and bears no architectural resemblance to the historical city;

- whether or not the text in which the new city is described was composed in a period in which the old city still stood;⁶⁷

⁶⁷ The answer to the question as to why, in certain instances, a New Jerusalem or New Temple would ever be conceived of — much less described in detail — when the old Jerusalem or Temple still stood is that the Jerusalem or Temple that existed at the time when the authors of these texts lived was not what they thought the city could be, should be, or was destined to be. (In a similar vein, A.I. BAUMGARTEN observes that “... any hint that the end of time will bring a new Temple is inevitable criticism of the existing one as inferior by comparison” (“The Role of Jerusalem and the Temple in ‘End of Days’ Speculation in the Second Temple Period,” *Jerusalem. Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (ed. L.I. LEVINE; New York, 1999), 77-89 at 78)). This underlying assumption is present in every expression of the topos, idealized or ideal, and regardless of whether the historical city still stood or not during the time when the expression was articulated. Whether the historic Jerusalem was in utter ruin (as was the case when the New Jerusalem expectations of *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* were composed), whether it had been so decimated that it was only a shell of its former greatness (as it was in the time of Ezekiel and First Zechariah), whether it stood once-polluted but newly-restored by the Maccabees (as was the case in the time of the *Animal Apocalypse*), or whether it stood as an important, thriving Herodian-era city and part of a foreign world-empire (as it was to the author

- whether the new city appears in the context of familiar or expected surroundings (e.g., it is surrounded by satellite villages or is set in a land or upon terrain that is clearly recognizable geographically as the land of or around the historical city of Jerusalem), or whether it is portrayed as appearing alone;
- whether the description of the new city contains much, little, or nothing about its external structures, particularly the walls, towers, battlements, and gates;
- whether or not the new city is constructed by means of or is adorned with precious metals and rare gemstones;
- whether the description of the new city reveals nothing of the internal structures, makes reference to various buildings and landmarks that have echoes in the historical Jerusalem, or displays an ideal gridiron-pattern of streets and houses; or
- whether or not the description of the new city is also concerned explicitly with the political, economic, or social situation of the inhabitants of the city.

This definition of what constitutes an expression of the hope for the New Jerusalem is therefore as applicable to the comparatively simple expectation that the historical city will be renewed and refreshed in the future (e.g., Jeremiah 30-33, which is an example of what will soon be identified as the “renewed” Jerusalem type of New Jerusalem expression) as it

of the *Psalms of Solomon*), this underlying assumption is present. To be sure, the variations in the condition of the historic Jerusalem over the time of the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods seemed to be of some consequence with respect to the sort of New Jerusalem anticipated, since it will be argued that the destruction of 70 CE had a certain broad effect on the articulations of the topos composed after this time. Also, it is clear that different authors from the same period of time could size up the Jerusalem of their day and arrive at two very different responses. For example, the early post-exilic period witnessed the “monumental” New Jerusalem of Ezekiel 40-48 and the more “restored” expectations of First Zechariah. The essential point, however, is that in every expression of the topos the anticipated city is always more than just a mirror of the present-time one, since, for whatever reason, the present-time city is unable to fulfil whatever functions or roles are envisioned for the anticipated future-time city.

is to the hope that an entirely new creation will take place that bears little if any physical resemblance to the historical city (*e.g.*, the *NJ*, which is an illustration of the “monumental” Jerusalem type). This is an important inclusion, since the prophetic articulations of the basic hope for the rebuilding of the historical Jerusalem, which are sometimes considered to be *antecedents* of the theme of the New Jerusalem (*i.e.*, in the context of a restricted view of the theme as it is envisioned to have been first formulated in Ezekiel or even *1 Enoch* and then developed in the later literature) are instead held to be both antecedents and expressions of the theme.⁶⁸ Thus even a very early New Jerusalem hope like that which is preserved in Jeremiah 30-33 is not merely forerunner of the New Jerusalem of Revelation 21-22; it is both a forerunner and an expression of the topos in its own right.

The comparatively inclusive nature of this definition of a “New Jerusalem” expression allows for an examination of a wide range of texts. Indeed, this chapter will employ in its investigation dozens of examples of the topos that are found in prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zephaniah, Zechariah, Joel, and Micah); in the works known as the Apocrypha (Tobit, the Wisdom of Ben Sirach); in Christian texts from the New Testament (Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians, the Epistle to the Hebrews, Revelation); in examples of the Enochic literature (the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Similitudes* (or *Parables*) of Enoch, the *Animal Apocalypse*, the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, *2 Enoch*, and *3 Enoch*); in texts known only from the Dead Sea finds (the *Apostrophe to Zion*, 4Q462, the *Temple Scroll*, and the *NJ*); and in many other works that are commonly classified under the rubric of “pseudepigrapha” (*Jubilees*; *Sibylline Oracle 3* and *Sibylline Oracle 5*; the *Psalms*

⁶⁸ The inclusion of the Isaianic expressions of the New Jerusalem is also the approach of PORTEOUS, “Jerusalem-Zion,” 250.

of Solomon; the collection known as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*; the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, *4 Baruch*, and the *Apocalypse of Elijah*). The wide range of these texts is deliberate, for to limit the study of the New Jerusalem topos to its better-known expressions or to concentrate only on the cases where the new city or New Temple is articulated in an apocalyptic context is to apprehend the topos improperly.

2. Types of New Jerusalems

The fundamental problem with classifying the expressions of the New Jerusalem topos into neat categories is that it is extremely difficult to determine which of the many elements and themes of the topos ought to form the basis of the classification. For example, one could concentrate on the difference between texts that anticipate heavenly New Jerusalems and those that expect earthly New Jerusalems, or one could classify the many expressions of the New Jerusalem on the basis of whether or not they appear in apocalyptic contexts. Different classifications suit different purposes; the purpose of each classification will determine its most appropriate form.

The problem is compounded by the fact that there is a great diversity with respect to the amount of detail contained in the various expressions of the topos. For example, the concept of the New Jerusalem may be articulated in a very brief passage like Gal 4.26, which contains almost no explanation or additional information, or it may be expressed in a text like Revelation 21-22, where the details are plentiful and varied. An examination of the few shared elements between these two texts should lead to the obvious conclusion that both are expressions of what might be termed the “Heavenly Jerusalem.” The problem in this case

is that the articulation of the topos in Revelation contains a host of other elements and themes, most of which have nothing to do with the issue of whether the New Jerusalem thus described is heavenly or earthly. Thus, although the new city of Revelation may indeed be appropriately categorized with the new city of Galatians as an example of a “Heavenly Jerusalem,” it is at the same time impossible to ignore the fact that it is also many other things besides, and that many of these factors have no reflection or even basis for comparison in the brief passage from Galatians.

Accordingly, rather than attempting to identify one or two universal characteristics by which all the expressions of the topos may be categorized, the goal of this section will be to establish more limited categories of “types” of New Jerusalems that are far better suited to the evidence and that will assist in the primary purpose of shedding light on the *NJ*.⁶⁹ As we have noted,⁷⁰ the great bulk of what survives of the *NJ* describes, by means of precise and detailed measurements, the architecture and urban structures of the New Jerusalem. If we focus on the dimensions, shape, and description of the new city as these elements appear in the many expressions of the New Jerusalem topos, we observe that the two most significant types of New Jerusalems are the “restored” type, which tends toward an “idealized” description of the new city, and the “monumental” type, which tends toward an “ideal” description of the new city. To be sure, there are texts that refer to the New Jerusalem

⁶⁹ These “types” of New Jerusalems, however, in no way represent comprehensive categories. Instead, if the relationship between the expressions of the topos and these “types” could be plotted spatially on a two-dimensional plane, this relationship would appear in the form of a Venn Diagram, where the position and overlap of the various circles (representing the “types”) clearly indicate the relationships among the individual expressions. The only general rule to which this investigation subscribes is that its focus must be on the content of the expressions of the topos, rather than on the purpose that these expressions serve (*pace* GAINES).

⁷⁰ See the Introduction, §1.

without depicting details about the city at all. For example, the references to the New Jerusalem at Gal 4:26 and at *Apoc. Elijah* 1.10 contain little in the way of information about the city beyond the simple statement that the New Jerusalem is a heavenly entity.⁷¹ But this sort of description of the New Jerusalem is the exception rather than the rule. Indeed, the categorization into “restored” and “monumental” types is able to take into account nearly all of the expressions of the topos.⁷²

a. The “Restored” Jerusalem

The “restored” Jerusalem is a type of New Jerusalem that, while not as sharply defined as the “monumental” type, is clearly different from it. The chief characteristic of the “restored” type is that it most often features an *idealized* future-time restoration of the historical Jerusalem. Critical to the idea of restoration in this type is the idea that the physical attributes of the city will be reconstituted in a way that fundamentally reflects the dimensions and design of the historical city. This reconstitution is particularly manifested in the external structures of the New Jerusalem, such as the walls, gates, and towers of the city, which are either raised up from their ruins or are otherwise made whole and functional again (*e.g.*, Isa 49:17, 44:24-28, 52:9, 54:14, 61:4; Tob 14:5; 4Q462 1 14). Sometimes the land, too, is

⁷¹ See the discussion on these verses in §2, c, below. Note also those depictions of the city that contain some details about its appearance, but give no hint as to its size and shape (*e.g.*, Tobit 14)

⁷² Exceptions include the New Jerusalem of Gal 4:26, which can hardly be understood as an idealized restoration of the old Jerusalem, and for which there is no evidence that it was conceived of by Paul as a “monumental” structure in the vein of the type exhibited in the *NJ* or Revelation 21-22.

restored,⁷³ often by life-giving waters or as a result of the return of the exiles.⁷⁴

One very good example of the “restored” type is encountered at Jeremiah 30-33, the overarching theme of which is the restoration of fortune and, as it applies to Jerusalem, the hope of the rebuilding and repopulation of the city, now secure from its enemies and prosperous (31:31, 33:16, with 33:7 referring to the restoration of the fortune of the people). While it is possible that the prophecies pertaining to the city and Temple originally referred to northern cities and structures in general,⁷⁵ the essential point is that they now refer to Jerusalem and the Temple. The presentation of this hope of rebuilding is consistent throughout these chapters and it pictures the future city as having the same topographic and structural features as the historical one. 30.18-19 refers to the restoration of “the tents of Jacob” (*i.e.*, the Temple)⁷⁶ and the reconstruction of the city and citadel. The city will be rebuilt “on its ruin” and the citadel “on its rightful site,” a plain indication that the physical situation of the future city is envisioned as being the same as that of the historic Jerusalem.

Jer 31:38-40 contains a fine reference to the rebuilt, idealized Jerusalem of the future, which extends from the “Tower of Hananel” to the “Corner Gate” (31:38), and includes the “terraces” in the territory near the brook Kidron, as far east as the “Horse Gate” (31:40).⁷⁷

⁷³ Cf. the redemption of the devastated land in Isa 49:19 and 52:9.

⁷⁴ See a discussion of both of these themes, below.

⁷⁵ See, for example, the extended discussion at 30:18 in W. HOLLADAY, *Jeremiah 2* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, 1989), 176-177. Unless otherwise noted, translations of Jeremiah are taken from this commentary.

⁷⁶ HOLLADAY, *Jeremiah 2*, 176.

⁷⁷ Interestingly, the description of the landmarks on the perimeter of the city possibly follows a counter-clockwise direction (so W. HOLLADAY, *Jeremiah 2* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, 1989), 199). This direction is unusual when we consider that the descriptions of the named gates in Ezekiel 40-48, the *NJ*, the

Several items stand out in these verses. To begin, there are several references to what must have been prominent architectural features of the historical Jerusalem. Precisely where these and other features mentioned elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible were situated in the Jerusalem of the late pre-exilic and early post-exilic periods is, to say the least, a vexing question,⁷⁸ but the fact that some of them are named explicitly in this context in Jeremiah underscores the intention of the oracle's author that the topographic and architectural features of the expected city of the future would be based on those of the historical Jerusalem. This intention is seen also in the references to the "terraces" and the Kidron, both of which are described as if they would be familiar to the reader as recognizable local landmarks.

One might object at this point and argue that there is nothing at all "idealized" about Jer 31.38-40. If anything, this description of the New Jerusalem should be termed "realistic" instead of "idealistic," since, rather than *looking back* to the Jerusalem of past history, it seems as if the author of this oracle in Jeremiah *looks to* the Jerusalem of his present day. We must recall, however, that the New Jerusalem is by definition a city that does not exist in the present, but rather it is the new city as it will be manifested, created, or constructed in the future. In other words, the starting point of the author's imagination is this future-time city, and it is from this perspective that the difference in the manner in which the physical dimensions of the city are described is made clear. From the point of view of the future, a New Jerusalem that reflects the size and shape of the historical old city is an idealized entity:

Temple Scroll, which are set in structures that have no basis in historical reality, all follow a clockwise movement. On the direction of the tour of the walls of the various expressions of the New Jerusalem or New Temple, see below, § 5.

⁷⁸ Still extremely valuable is M. BURROW'S survey in his article "Jerusalem," *IDB* 2.843-866, esp. 849-857.

it consciously *looks back* to the old city as the city had once existed.

In addition, there are other indications that the new city is more than a mirror image of the old city. One theme common to many expressions of the topos is that the New Jerusalem will be a magnificent spectacle, and its walls, streets, and open squares will be covered with precious metals and brilliant, rare gemstones.⁷⁹ More specifically, these texts will sometimes contain specific architectural or topographic information indicating that their vision of the New Jerusalem is an idealized one. For example, the New Jerusalem in Jeremiah contains streets that are “deserted” and a surrounding region that is “a waste” (33:10). In an oracle in Zechariah 14, the terrain upon which the old city of Jerusalem stood is completely shattered and reworked by YHWH, while the *Apostrophe to Zion* refers to the beautiful, wide-open plazas of the new city (11Q5 xxii 5). Perhaps the most explicit example of this type of information is found at *4 Baruch* 5,⁸⁰ wherein Abimelech, the son of Jeremiah, enters a deep sleep after the fall of the city and awakens⁸¹ to find that things have changed radically. Making his way back to Jerusalem, he twice enters its walls and twice exits them, confused and disturbed that nothing is the same as he remembers it: the houses appear

⁷⁹ See the discussion on this theme in §3, a, below.

⁸⁰ This text, probably composed originally in a Semitic language, survives in many ancient versions, including the Greek text most commonly known as the *Paraleipomena Jeremiou*. It dates most probably from the first third of the second century CE, although various other dates have been offered and there is evidence of later Christian interpolation (S.E. ROBINSON, “4 Baruch,” *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Volume 2: Expansions of the “Old Testament” and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works* (ed. J.H. CHARLESWORTH; New York, 1985), 413-425. As the Greek title suggests, the story is set in the Babylonian period, during the time of Jeremiah and Baruch and the destruction of Jerusalem.

⁸¹ It is unclear whether he actually awakens or has a dream-vision in which he thinks he awakens. The fact that in the next chapter Abimelech meets Baruch and there is mention of the latter’s sending a message to Jeremiah (6.15) suggests that Abimelech experienced a dream-vision. On the other hand, Baruch remarks that Abimelech’s figs (a central item in his dream-vision) look remarkably fresh after 66 years (6.8), implying that this stretch of time has indeed passed.

different, the neighbourhoods have changed, and even the people are not the same. He wonders whether the city is really Jerusalem. But outside the city he recognizes the landmarks of the city and knows that it is Jerusalem, despite what he sees inside the walls (5.11). He then meets an old man, who tells him that many decades have passed, and that the city is Jerusalem, as the landmarks indeed prove.

Another indication that the new city is an idealized conception of the old city is the fact that so often the physical description of the city is accompanied by indications of radical future-time reversals of fortune affecting the military, political, economic, and societal spheres.⁸² Some of these indications are found in many expressions of the topos, and are expressed by means of common themes. For example, one common theme is the “Humbling of the Nations,” where the nations of the world, usually including the former enemies and oppressors of the people of Israel, will gather in the future, now humbled by a drastic reversal of fortune, and marvel at the glorious New Jerusalem. These changes that are envisioned as being operative in the new city cannot be understood as reflections of present-time situations, but rather represent either a deliberate looking back to an idealized Jerusalem of the past or a looking forward to an ideal Jerusalem without root in the past or present.

b. The “Monumental” Jerusalem

In addition to the *NJ*, whose New Jerusalem was partially described and examined in Chapter 1, the “monumental” type of New Jerusalem or New Temple is represented by

⁸² This phenomenon is not limited to idealized conceptions of the New Jerusalem, but also appears in connexion with ideal conceptions of the new city or new Temple.

Ezekiel 40-48, the *Temple Scroll*, the *Reworked Pentateuch*,⁸³ the *Animal Apocalypse* of *I Enoch*, *SibOr 5*, and Revelation 21-22. In all these texts the New Jerusalem or New Temple is portrayed as an ideal structure of enormous proportions.

In Ezekiel,⁸⁴ the New Jerusalem is described twice (48:16 and 48:30-35; the two accounts of the city differ in certain ways).⁸⁵ The city is surrounded by a square-shaped wall 18,000 cubits in circumference, with each wall punctuated by three gates and each of the

⁸³ On the *Reworked Pentateuch*, see Chapter 3, §2, a. This text will not be discussed separately, since not only are its sections that deal with architectural and structural matters very poorly preserved, but it would seem that the structure it describes is very closely related to, if not the same as the Temple in the *Temple Scroll*.

⁸⁴ In addition to the relevant sections in the standard editions and commentaries, see S. FUJITA, "The Temple Theology of the Qumran Sect and the Book of Ezekiel: Their Relationship to Jewish Literature of the Last Two Centuries B.C.," Diss: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1970; LEVENSON, *Ezekiel 40-48*; J. MAIER, "Die Hofanlagen im Tempel-Entwurf des Ezechiel im Licht der 'Tempelrolle' von Qumran," *Prophecy. Essays Presented to Georg Fohrer on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday, 6 September 1980* (BZAW 150; ed. J.A. EMERTON; Berlin, 1980), 55-67; S.S. TUELL, "The Temple Vision of Ezekiel 40-48: A Program for Restoration?" *PEGLBS 2* (1982), 96-103; W. ZIMMERLI, "Jerusalem in der Sicht des Ezechielbuches," *The Word Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday* (edd. C.L. MEYERS and M. O'CONNOR; Winona Lake, IN, 1983), 415-426. M. GREENBERG, "The Design and Themes of Ezekiel's Program of Restoration," *Interpretation 38* (1984), 181-208; J. LUST, "The Order of the Final Events in Revelation and Ezekiel," *L'Apocalypse* (ed. H. LAMBRECHT), 179-183; S. NIDITCH, "Visionary Context"; D. DIMANT, "The Apocalyptic Interpretation of Ezekiel at Qumran," *Messiah and Christos. Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity Presented to David Flusser on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (edd. I. GRUENWALD, et alii; TSAJ 32; Tübingen, 1992), 31-51; J. GALAMBUSH, *Jerusalem in the Book of Ezekiel: The City as Yahweh's Wife* (SBLDS 130; Atlanta, 1992); S.S. TUELL, *The Law of the Temple in Ezekiel 40-48* (HSM 49; Atlanta, 1992); and K.R. STEVENSON, *The Vision of Transformation: The Territorial Rhetoric of Ezekiel 40-48* (SBLDS 154; Atlanta, 1996).

⁸⁵ The sequence of the walls as they are related to the reader is in a different order in each account (48:16: north, south, east, and west; 48:30-34: north, east, south, west) and the list of the city gates only appears at 48:31-34. This last point might explain why the sequence of walls in this second list is in an order different from that of the first (*i.e.*, the author wanted to list the gates in the order as they would appear in a perimeter tour of the city, which required that the walls in which they were set be named in sequential order), but it seems odd that the named gates of the city should not also be mentioned at 48:15-19, especially given the emphasis on the individual tribes that is evident throughout 47:13-48:29. The dimensions of the city's common land, 250 cubits from each wall, appears in the first account only (48:17), but this is quite understandable, given that the entire section 47:13-48:29 is concerned with the distribution and organization of the land, a concern not at all shared at 48:30-35. The most serious discrepancy between the accounts is the location of the city. In 48:10 and 15 we learn that while the sanctuary stands on a reservation of land set apart for God, the city is situated on a strip of secular common land. God's presence is in the Temple, as we are told explicitly at 43:4-5, and if the Temple is not in the city, neither then is God. The new city, however, is named ירושה שמה, that is, "YHWH is there" (48:35), which is an alliterative play on ירושלים. This statement thus implies that the Temple is in the city, since "YHWH is there."

twelve gates named after one of the sons of Jacob. The length of each wall, 4,500 cubits, is given in both accounts (48:16 and 48:30-34), and the total circumference of the city is given at 48:35. The area around the city is extensively described, with the land divided into tribal allotments. Nothing is revealed concerning the internal structures of the new city other than that it contains a New Temple (40:1-42:20).

The measurements of the New Temple of the *Temple Scroll* are similarly monumental. The inner court is a square measuring 280 cubits per side (11Q19 xxxvi 3-7), in which are set four gates, one per side.⁸⁶ The middle court is surrounded by a wall 100 cubits by 480 cubits (11Q19 xxxviii 12-13), while the wall circumscribing the outer court is approximately 1,600 cubits square (11Q19 xl 8).⁸⁷ These distances are closer to the dimensions of the New Jerusalem of Ezekiel, but are not in the same league as those exhibited by the walls of the *NJ*. Just as there are twelve gates in the structures described in Ezekiel 40-48, the *NJ*, and the *Reworked Pentateuch*, both the middle and outer walls of the Temple enclosure in the *Temple Scroll* contain twelve gates, three to each side, with each gate being named after one of the twelve sons of the patriarch Jacob.

Like the *NJ*, the *Temple Scroll* contains a host of details about the nature, dimensions,

⁸⁶ CRAWFORD, *Temple Scroll*, 38, argues that the gates are named for the houses of the priests (Aaron, whose gate faced East) and the three Levitical families (Kohath, Gershon, and Merari, respectively South, West, and North).

⁸⁷ This imprecision ([כמאות] וּשְׁשׁ וָאֶלֶף) is one of the strangest things about the *Temple Scroll*. According to YADIN, *Temple Scroll*, 1.251, exact measurements would provide a figure of 1590 or 1604 cubits; we prefer 1590 cubits, which represents the straight-forward addition of walls and gates. The additional fourteen cubits result if one is inclined to view the outer terrace, which is fourteen cubits wide (11Q19 xlvvi 5-8, 11Q20 xii 18-20), as running outside the full perimeter of the wall.

On the seeming paradox that errors and inaccuracies could be part of texts that are clearly designed to be as precise and specific as possible, see the discussion on this phenomenon with respect to the *NJ* at Chapter 1, §4, d.

and design features of many smaller structures inside the walls. Unlike the preserved portions of the *NJ*, however, but like Ezekiel 40-48, the *Temple Scroll* demonstrates an interest in the terrain outside the walls. Indeed, one particularly fascinating aspect of the *Temple Scroll* involves the cities that are situated beyond the boundary of the Temple complex (11Q19 xlvi 8, 14, 17),⁸⁸ the closest analogy to which in the literature under examination in this chapter is the scattering of the outlying villages of Zech 1:17. As with the description of the external and internal aspects of the houses of the *NJ*, we find numerous scattered references in the *Temple Scroll* to the various architectural details of the dwelling-places of these cities. They are to have a railing round their roofs (lxv 5-6), for instance, and in another place we learn of their finer architectural details, such as the lintels, doorposts, and thresholds (xlix 12-13), and of household objects (l 14-16), much in the same way that similar structures in the *NJ* are detailed (see, especially, 5Q15 1 ii). SCHIFFMAN'S suggestion that these houses in the cities in the *Temple Scroll* would be situated in a gridiron pattern, just as the houses of the *NJ* are arranged, is interesting but somewhat speculative, assuming as it does that the plan of the cities in both structures are based on a Hippodamian model common to Hellenistic cities.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ On the term עיר המקדש, which appears in a number of Qumran texts, including passages from 11Q19 xlvi 11-12, 15-17, L.H. SCHIFFMAN concludes that this refers only to the Temple complex (the temple being simply מקדש), and not the entire city of Jerusalem. He reiterates this view in his major and most recent study, "Ir Ha-Miqdash and Its Meaning in the Temple Scroll and Other Qumran Texts," *Sanctity of Time and Space in Tradition and Modernity* (edd. A. HOUTMAN, et alii; JCPS 1; Leiden/Boston/Köln, 1998), 95-109. Other scholars (including YADIN, *Temple Scroll*, 1.277-307) hold that the term refers to Jerusalem, although SCHIFFMAN'S objections are lucid. See the discussion of the dispute in CRAWFORD, *Temple Scroll*, 48-49.

⁸⁹ L.H. SCHIFFMAN, "Sacred Space: The Land of Israel in the *Temple Scroll*," *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990. Proceedings of the Second Annual Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, June-July 1990* (Jerusalem, 1993), 398-410 at 407. But see our arguments concerning whether the Hippodamian model is indeed a viable antecedent of the city plan of the *NJ*.

The so-called *Animal Apocalypse*⁹⁰ contains a reference to a New Jerusalem that will be established in the eschatological age (*1 En* 90.28-29, 33-36). Jerusalem — both the city of history and the city of the eschaton — is referred to as the “house,” as the Temple is the “tower.”⁹¹ The structural changes to the old city in the new age will be radical: the old Jerusalem will be dismantled⁹² piece by piece — the implication is that its component parts will be gathered from the earth in which they are situated — and then they and all the “ornaments”⁹³ of the city will be packed up, taken away, and abandoned at a place “in the

⁹⁰ This work, which comprises chapters 85-90 of *1 Enoch*, is a long and sometimes cryptic allegorical piece from the early Maccabean period, perhaps dating from the first days of the Maccabean Revolt. On the merits of the earlier (early Maccabean) or later (Hasmonaean) date of the *Animal Apocalypse*, see M. BLACK (with J.C. VANDERKAM), *The Book of Enoch or First Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes* (SVTP 7; Leiden, 1985), 288.

⁹¹ This might seem counter-intuitive, but the association is clear. Cf. *1 En* 89.50, which speaks of the city and Temple under David and Solomon: “And a house great and broad was built for those sheep; (and) a tower lofty was built on the house for the Lord of the sheep, and that house was low, but the tower was elevated and was lofty; and the Lord of the sheep stood on that tower and they offered a full table before him.” Cf. also 89.72-73, where the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the construction of the Second Temple are alluded to. For another reference to the Solomonic Temple in the context of a review of history, see *SibOr* 1.393-395.

⁹² BLACK, *The Book of Enoch*, 278, citing *1 En* 26.1, opines that “the midst of the earth” in which the abyss opens (a few verses previous, at 89.26) is Jerusalem. There is ample citation for the ancient view that Jerusalem stood in the middle of the earth (see, e.g., *1 En* 26.1, *SibOr* 3.767-771). Because of this, it might be that the author of the *Animal Apocalypse* understood that the city will be demolished by the abyss and its columns and pillars scattered about prior to their collection and removal to the south, rather than the city’s being reasonably intact and its columns and pillars being pulled out at their roots. Alternately, it might be the tower (= the Temple) that falls into the abyss: it is last mentioned at 89.73 (where the bread set on it was impure), where immediately follows the notice introducing the blinded sheep. Later, when the abyss opens (in the midst of the earth), it is the blinded sheep, having been judged and found guilty, who are cast into the abyss.

But what is to be made of the abyss’ being “on the south side of the house”? Is it, as BLACK, suggests, “clearly Gehenna, on the south side of Jerusalem”? (278) Note that although the *Book of Watchers* (at *1 En* 26-27) does not specifically mention the south side of the city, it is the lifeless valleys surrounding the city which are the place where the accursed are judged. Given that the topography that Enoch is shown is that of Jerusalem and its immediate environs, we note that the great valleys are, of course, to the south (the Hinnon Valley, sloping down to the east) and to the east (the Kidron Valley, sloping down toward the south).

⁹³ The words are literally “plant/tree” (for “beam”) and “tooth” (for ornament). See textual notes in P.A. TILLER, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (SBLEJL 4; Atlanta, 1993), 373.

south of the land.”⁹⁴ In its place God will bring in and erect a new city, a Jerusalem greater and more magnificent than the old. Although no dimensions are offered, the New Jerusalem in the *Animal Apocalypse* is indubitably larger (90.29: “greater and loftier”) than the old city. Indeed, the size of this New Jerusalem is not arbitrary; even if we do not know its specific dimensions, the author of the *Apocalypse* evidently felt it was of a certain size and no more, since it cannot contain everyone who had been invited to it (90.34).⁹⁵

The New Jerusalem encountered in the fourth oracle (vv. 286-433) of the fifth *Sibylline Oracle*⁹⁶ is the one example of the monumental New Jerusalem that does not describe the city in any great detail. The oracle’s climax is verses 414-433, where a saviour figure descends from heaven, punishing the wicked and making “the city which God desired” more brilliant than the celestial bodies. This figure also fashions a new Temple and “a great and immense tower over many stadia”⁹⁷ that scrapes the clouds and is visible to

⁹⁴ A curious phrase; a range of options for its meaning or context is provided by BLACK, *The Book of Enoch*, 278-279: “Had the writer 1 Mac. 4.46 in mind with its provision for the disposing of the stones of the old temple? Or does it mean into the wilderness of Sinai (where the Great One dwells, cf. 77.1 ...) or simply to some ritually pure place ‘outside the camp’ (Num. 19.9). Or is it conceivable that the writer had the Jewish settlement and Temple at Leontopolis in Egypt in mind?” See also GAINES, “Eschatological Jerusalem,” 251, who understands the south primarily as the place where polluted objects (like the Second Temple; cf. 89.73-74) might be disposed.

⁹⁵ TILLER (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 376), argues that the great height of the city resolves “the apocalyptic dualism between heaven and earth” since “the New Jerusalem reaches towards heaven and, in fact, becomes heaven in the sense that it becomes the abode of God.”

⁹⁶ This book consists of six oracles of Egyptian provenance: a series of four core oracles or collections of oracles dating to the last decades of the first century C.E., book-ended by two oracles dating likely from the time of the Bar Kokhba revolt (see COLLINS, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism*, 73-76; *idem*, “Sibylline Oracles,” *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Volume One: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, 390-405 at 390-391; and *idem*, “The Development of the Sibylline Tradition,” 422-459 at 436-438). The English translations of *SibOr* 5 used in this chapter are from COLLINS’ translation in the *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*.

⁹⁷ The tower does not seem to be the Temple, as it is in the *Animal Apocalypse*, since the plain sense of the passage implies that a Temple *and* a tower will be constructed, and the emphasis throughout is on the “city of God.” Moreover, the “tower” in the oracle is not a symbol for something else, as it is in the *Animal*

everyone. Despite the brevity of the account of the city, there is no question that its descriptions are of monumental architectural phenomena. Note, for example, references to a great wall (verse 252) and an enormous tower (verse 424). The wall, which is said to extend “round about, as far as Joppa,” is an interesting feature. Joppa was utterly destroyed by Vespasian in 68;⁹⁸ whether the oracle envisions an ideal future in which the city is reconstituted or whether the location of the city is merely a convenient distance-marker is impossible to discern. What is intriguing is the distance involved: Joppa lies on the Mediterranean coast approximately 35 miles northwest of Jerusalem, so the “great wall” mentioned by the oracle is at least 35 miles long — perhaps 300-odd stadia, or approximately twice as long as the longest wall in the *NJ*. This wall surely is an ideal construction, meant to be erected not by human hands alone, but within the bounds of a future-time era that will witness a series of extraordinary events. As for the enormous tower, it will be able to touch the clouds and to be seen by all (verses 251 and 425). Like the wall, the tower of the new city of the fifth *Sibylline Oracle* is a structure too gargantuan to be created by humans alone.

The New Jerusalem of Revelation 21-22⁹⁹ is immense: a square structure measuring

Apocalypse.

⁹⁸ Jos., *BJ*, 3.422ff.

⁹⁹ In addition to the standard commentaries (including, now above all, the three volumes by D. AUNE in the WBC), see M. RISSI, *The Future of the World*; W. THÜSING, “Die Vision des ‘Neuen Jerusalem (Apk 21,1-22,5) als Verheißung und Gottesverkündigung,” *TZ* (1968), 17-34; W.W. READER, “Die Stadt Gottes in der Johannesapokalypse,” Diss: Göttingen, 1971. [*non vid.*]; F. ZEILINGER, “Das himmlische Jerusalem”; J.M. COURT, “The New Jerusalem.” *Myth and History in the Book of Revelation* (Atlanta, 1979), 154-159, 189-190; D. GEORGI, “Die Visionen vom himmlischen Jerusalem in Apk 21 und 22,” *Kirche. Festschrift für Gunther Bornkamm zum 75. Geburtstag* (edd. D. LÜHRMANN and G. STRECKER; Tübingen, 1980), 351-372; O. BÖCHER, “Bürger der Gottesstadt. Kirche in Zeit und Endzeit nach Apk 21f,” *Kirche in Zeit und Endzeit. Aufsätze zur Offenbarung des Johannes* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1983), 157-167; R. BERGMEIER, “Jerusalem, der hochgebaute Stadt,” *ZNW* 75 (1984), 86-106; A. VÖGTLE, “Dann sah ich einen neuen Himmel und eine neue

12,000 stadia in length and width (21:16), with each wall being 144 cubits high (21.17), facing one of the points of the compass, and having three gates in it so that there are twelve gates in total (21:12-13). The gates, like the gates of Ezekiel 48 and the three Qumran texts, are named after the twelve sons of Jacob, here identified as the twelve tribes of Israel (21:12).¹⁰⁰ Unlike these other texts, however, each gate is not named specifically. What are specifically named are the twelve foundation stones, each being called after one of the twelve apostles (21:14) and adorned with a precious stone specific to it (21:19-20). Few details are preserved about the inner structures of the city, but we are assured that the throne of God will be in the middle of the city (22:2-3).

Clearly, there existed a tradition in the biblical and extra-biblical literature of this “monumental” type of new city or Temple that persisted within the larger tradition of the New Jerusalem as a vehicle by which future hopes and expectations might be expressed. There is no question that the first articulation of this type is the New Jerusalem of Ezekiel

Erde ...’ (Apk 21,1). Zur kosmischen Dimension neutestamentlicher Eschatologie,” *Glaube und Eschatologie. Festschrift für Werner Georg Kummel zum 80. Geburtstag* (edd. E. GRÄßER and O. MERK; Tübingen, 1985), 303-333; J. LUST, ‘The Order of the Final Events in Revelation and Ezekiel,’ *L’Apocalypse* (ed. H. LAMBRECHT) 179-183; J.A. DU RAND, “The Imagery of the Heavenly Jerusalem (Revelation 21.9-22.5),” *Neotest* 22 (1988), 65-86; F. SCHRÖGER, “Jerusalem — die Himmelsstadt (Offb 21,1-22,5). Traumbild für Vollendung und gelungenes Leben der Menschen und Völker,” *Die Freude an Gott — unsere Kraft. Festschrift für Otto Bernhard Knoch zum 65. Geburtstag* (edd. J.J. DEGENHART and E. VON PADERBORN; Stuttgart, 1991), 211-220; K. WENGST, “Babylon the Great and the New Jerusalem: The Visionary View of Political Reality in the Revelation of John,” *Politics and Theopolitics in the Bible and Postbiblical Literature* (edd. H.G. REVENTLOW, et alii; JSOTSup 171; Sheffield, 1994), 189-202; J. ROLOFF, “Irdisches und himmlisches Jerusalem nach der Johannesoffenbarung,” *Zion: Ort der Begegnung. Festschrift für Laurentius Klein zur Vollendung des 65. Lebensjahres* (edd. F. HAHN, et alii; BBB 90; Frankfurt-am-Main, 1993), 85-106; J. VAN RUITEN, “The Intertextual Relation between Isaiah 65,17-20 and Revelation 21,1-5b,” *EstBib* 51 (1993), 473-510; U. SIM, *Das himmlische Jerusalem*; D. AUNE, “Qumran and the Book of Revelation,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment* (edd. P.W. FLINT and J.C. VANDERKAM, with the assistance of A.E. ALVAREZ; Leiden/Boston/Köln, 1999), 2.622-648 at 629-636; and B.J. MALINA, *The New Jerusalem in the Revelation of John. The City as Symbol of Life with God* (Collegeville, 2000).

¹⁰⁰ The tribes are identified at Rev 7:4-8.

40-48 and that, even though they might differ in the details, the later “monumental” expressions are conceptually dependent on it. The primary characteristics of this type as portrayed in Ezekiel 40-48 are the extraordinarily large dimensions and regular shape of the new city, and these characteristics are found in every one of the later expressions of the type (the only exceptions being the *Animal Apocalypse* and *SibOr 5*, where they are not described at all). In some cases, such as the *Temple Scroll* and the *NJ*, the interior structures and plan of the city or Temple are also described.

The defining characteristic of the “monumental” type is that it is an *ideal* expression of the New Jerusalem or New Temple, that is, it is an expression that is largely unconnected to the historical Jerusalem or Temple. Whereas the *idealized* expressions of the new city combine the forms of the past and the functions of the future, in the *ideal* versions the form of the New Jerusalem almost completely follows from its function. For example, the city of Revelation 21-22 is 12,000 stadia square (21:16) because the number “twelve” is extremely important to all the dimensions of the city and reflects the number of tribes of Israel (21:11) and apostles (21:14). The gates of the cities of Ezekiel 40-48, the *NJ*, the *Temple Scroll*, and the *Reworked Pentateuch* are twelve in number, not because the Jerusalem of history had twelve gates (it did not) or because twelve gates would cause the city to appear all that more magnificent to the nations, but because this was the number of the tribes of Israel, for which the gates are named.¹⁰¹

This lack of reference to the historical city in ideal, “monumental” New Jerusalem texts has its social dimensions as well. For instance, the precise number of the population

¹⁰¹ See Chapter 1, Table IV, “Named Gates in the Biblical and Extra-Biblical Literature.”

of the new city in texts containing a New Jerusalem of idealized proportions never seems to be an issue. There is no reason that it should be, since the author of such a text already has in mind that the new city will be of the same size and shape as the old one. In a text like the *NJ*, however, which takes great pains to outline the size of the urban area of the city, the number of houses in this area, and even the actual size of houses themselves, it is only natural to assume that its author had some function or purpose in mind to which this precise number of carefully measured houses that imply a carefully calculated number of persons must have attended. Put another way, the form of the interior design of the new city in the *NJ* depends on its function, even if this function is not fully known to us.¹⁰² The same dynamic is at work at Zech 1:16-17, where the New Jerusalem will be without city walls, but will be encircled by a larger wall of fire. The wall of fire is an ideal feature of the text, its presence there a result of the explicit admission that the population of the New Jerusalem will be so great that the new city cannot have walls in the traditional sense. In fact, of all the expressions of the New Jerusalem that mention the city's walls, Zech 1:16-17 is the only text that specifically envisions a city without walls. The physical form of the city, in this case its being without city walls, is completely dependent on the function of the city in the text, in this case its purpose as a vehicle to communicate anticipated social and political reversals of fortune in the new age, one of which is the fact that the population of the New Jerusalem will be immense.

To be sure, not every aspect of an expression of the “monumental” type needs to be

¹⁰² On the subject of the purpose of these houses, see Chapter 3, §3, a, ii (for the view that they were domiciles for the pilgrims who were to visit the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* in the eschatological age) and the Conclusion.

described ideally. A good example of ideal and idealized elements appearing together is found in the distribution among the tribes of the land surrounding the ideal, square-shaped city in Ezekiel 48. This distribution of land is unconnected to any biblical tradition of the location of the tribes: among other geographic anomalies, the two and a half Trans-Jordan tribes (*cf.* Numbers 32, Joshua 22) are now situated to the west of the river, the Levites are no longer dispersed among the cities of the land, and Benjamin lies south of Judah. Moreover, the land is divided into parcels of equal size, stacked neatly along the north-south axis of the Holy Land, with the New Jerusalem in the centre. These elements are clearly ideal: they are designed to fulfill a purpose. But the purpose itself may have been based on an idealized conception. J. LEVENSON argues that this land distribution and, indeed, much of Ezekiel 40-48 as a whole ought to be seen as a deliberate attempt to return to the political forms of Israel's pre-monarchic youth, calling to mind the old province of Canaan and the order of battle of the wilderness camp of Num 2 and 3.21-28.¹⁰³ If this is correct, the author of Ezekiel 40-48 had an idealized understanding of the political and geographic realities that he wished to convey to the reader, into which he situated this ideal arrangement of the tribes and their land.

Whether these “monumental” New Jerusalems are “realistic” (*i. e.*, they are cities that could have been built or would have been considered to be functional) is a difficult question

¹⁰³ J.D. LEVENSON, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40-48* (HSM 10; Missoula, 1976), *passim*. See also J. BLENKINSOPP, *Ezekiel* (Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching; Louisville, 1990), who also observes that the equitable distribution of the land recalls the pre-monarchic situation.

to answer.¹⁰⁴ From one point of view, some of these cities seem too large to be anything but divinely created. Beyond the scope of construction techniques ancient or modern are the enormous walls of the New Jerusalem of Revelation 21-22, which stretch over thousands of kilometers, and the tower of the fifth *Sibylline Oracle*, which rises high enough to touch the clouds. From this perspective, it is unsurprising that the new city of Revelation is envisioned to descend from heaven.

On the other hand, there is ample precedent in the ancient world for walls and other structures of the dimensions exhibited in many of the “monumental” expressions of the topos.¹⁰⁵ The perimeter walls of the *NJ* (4Q554 1 i 11 - ii 10) might seem enormously long, but having walls that run for two dozen or so kilometers is not so outlandish when we recall the “long walls” of classical Athens, Hadrian’s Wall in northern England, or even the Great Wall of China. The walls of Ezekiel’s New Jerusalem or the Temple complex of the *Temple Scroll* are far smaller than these historical great walls. In addition, the combined area of the sanctuary, the secular portion (in which lies the city), and the land for the tribes in Ezekiel 40-48 is not a product of sheer fantasy, but is, as noted, roughly equivalent to the territory encompassed by Israel at its greatest extent. We should also note that the dimensions of other

¹⁰⁴ Such questions are repeatedly asked or alluded to by scholars. See, e.g., BROSHI, “Gigantic Dimensions,” 37: “To build the complex described in the Temple Scroll would require solving serious topographical problems ... [it would be] a feasible feat, I suppose, but extremely impractical”; GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “New Jerusalem,” 608: “The city and temple described by the redactor are the revealed model, which will one day be a reality”; and WISE, *Temple Scroll*, 85: “The redactor of the TS [*Temple Scroll*] was probably willing to make such compromises because he really intended to build his temple.”

¹⁰⁵ Jonah 3:3-4 records that it took a “three days’ journey” to cross the city of Nineveh. Although this distance might seem the product of hyperbole to us, there is nothing to say that such a distance was ever considered unrealistic. The figure of a journey of three days as an expression of length is also seen in passages from the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19 xlili 12-16, lii 13-16). According to A. SHEMESH, this term did not designate a precise distance (““Three-Days’ Journey from the Temple’: The Use of This Expression in the Temple Scroll,” *DSD* 6 (1999), 126-138).

structures in such monumental cities, such as the gates and thickness of the walls, are not monumental. For example, in the *NJ* the houses and their internal design features are very much normally proportioned, as are the alleys, streets, and blocks of houses. Despite the enormous area enclosed by its walls, the city of the *NJ* was clearly meant to be functional.

c. Heavenly and Earthly Jerusalems

Besides the categories of the “restored” and “monumental” New Jerusalems, the only other way of meaningfully classifying a significant portion of the expressions of the topos is to concentrate on the location of the new city itself. Much of the scholarship on the idea of the New Jerusalem in the biblical and extra-biblical writings concentrate on this way of classifying the topos,¹⁰⁶ and it is not relevant to the purposes of this chapter to present a long summary of previous research in this area.

Most New Jerusalems, “restored” or “monumental,” are earthly cities. Most of the time this fact is clear because a description of the surrounding terrain is included¹⁰⁷ or, more

¹⁰⁶ See above, §1, b.

¹⁰⁷ A good example of this phenomenon occurs in the longest section of the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 En* 17-36) which tell of Enoch’s extraordinary guided journeys to lands terrestrial and extraterrestrial. In chapters 26 to 28 Enoch is taken to the middle of the earth, “a blessed place,” where he is shown the physical geography of the area. He sees a “sacred mount,” on a site where trees grow and even saplings sprout from a felled tree (on the range of meaning for which, see BLACK, *The Book of Enoch*, 172) and a stream that issues from the east side of the mount and which descends towards the south (26.2). In the east he sees a higher mount, with a valley and stream running between the two (26.3; cf. Zech 14.4, where the Mount of Olives is split in two, with a great east-west valley between the halves), and in the west another, lower mount (26.4), with deep, dry valleys all round, where “no tree was planted in them” (26.4-6). The valley, so Enoch is told by Uriel, is the place where the accursed will be judged; the sacred mount, by implication, will be the place where the blessed will live (27.1-5). From there Enoch is transported outwards, being shown terrain outside the immediate environs of the mounts and the valleys (28.1ff.). What is described in this passage can only be Jerusalem and its local environment, albeit from a topographic rather than a cartographic perspective. The author is interested solely in the physical features of the land and pays no mind to human constructions, the sole exception being an aqueduct that is situated in a place in the midst of the desert (28.3). Moreover, and recalling that the setting of the passage is an otherworldly journey, what Enoch saw was the New Jerusalem,

commonly, the New Jerusalem is the focus of certain future-time events that imply an earthly setting. For example, the “Humbling of the Nations” theme that sometimes appears alongside expressions of the topos requires an earthly setting, as does any scenario where the New Jerusalem plays a part in a future battle against foreign enemies.¹⁰⁸

A few expressions of the topos are clearly heavenly, though: Gal. 4:26, Heb 12:22,¹⁰⁹ 2 Bar 4.1-6 (on which, see below), 2 En 55.2 (long recension), *ApocElijah* 1.10, and Revelation 21-22, the latter, of course, famously descending from heaven to earth (3:12, 21:2, and 21:10). In the case of both Galatians and Hebrews, the presentation of the New Jerusalem as heavenly is molded by the presentation of the new city in direct contrast to Mount Sinai. In his letter to the Galatians, and in order to demonstrate the difference between the two covenants, Paul employs a rather forced double allegory¹¹⁰ involving Abraham, Hagar, and Sarah.¹¹¹ Both women stand for covenants, he argues. Hagar represents

despite this total silence regarding the city’s existence. The New Jerusalem in this section of the *Book of Watchers* is quite plainly on earth, not in heaven, and seems neither to have been pre-existent nor descended from heaven. The New Jerusalem is not gargantuan in scope, either, for the sacred mount does not extend beyond the surrounding valleys, which are the actual valleys that lay to the east and south of the city.

¹⁰⁸ See the section on the “Humbling of the Nations” (§3, b), below.

¹⁰⁹ Note also that its New Jerusalem is called a city without foundations (11:10), which also implies a heavenly city.

¹¹⁰ In its loose sense of “speaking with another meaning,” thereby avoiding the question of whether Paul technically was using analogy, allegory, or typology. For an extended discussion, see A.T. LINCOLN, “Galatians and the Heavenly Jerusalem,” *Paradise Now and Not Yet. Studies in the Role of the Heavenly Dimension in Paul’s Thought, with Special Reference to His Eschatology* (STNSMS 43; Cambridge, 1981), 9-32 at 13-15.

¹¹¹ The logic of the double allegory/argument is not always explicit: Sarah is not named, nor is the mountainous counterpart to Mount Sinai. On the problems with Paul’s presentation, see, *inter alia*, C.H. COSGROVE, “The Law Has Given Sarah No Children (Gal. 4:21-30),” *NovT* 29 (1987), 219-235; and J.L. MARTYN, *Galatians. A New Translation and Commentary* (AB 33A; New York, 1997), *loc. cit.* That Isaac, not Ishmael, was Israel’s ancestor is irrelevant; in an allegory, the logic of the argument can flow solely from the significant objects (in this case the old/new covenants/Jeruselems), and not from that which is being signified. In other words, the identification of Israel as sons of Hagar renders moot all logic not derived from

Mount Sinai, the place of the old covenant, and the children of a slave are legally born into slavery. On the other hand, the free woman is the new covenant and thus she will bear free children, not slaves. In addition, both women stand for “Jeruselems,” and so the dichotomy of slave versus free operates as a triptych, having been exemplified in women, covenants, and cities. The main referent of ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ is unquestionably the true, heavenly church of God (ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν), which Paul sets in contrast to the earthly, Jerusalem church.¹¹² In Hebrews, too, the presentation of the heavenly New Jerusalem is also molded by its function within the text. Everything rests on the passage 12:18-24, where the author of the epistle contrasts Mount Sinai with Mount Zion, the latter being the heavenly Jerusalem (12:22). No mention is made of the structural qualities of the city or the details regarding the surrounding terrain; indeed, they seem unnecessary to the christological and soteriological points being made. As C.K. BARRETT describes, the “new high priest requires a new sanctuary,” one that is not on earth (8:4), and “thus the true tabernacle exists in heaven.”¹¹³

In other cases it is unclear whether the New Jerusalem is earthly or heavenly. The *Animal Apocalypse*, as mentioned in the discussion on the “monumental” expressions of the topos, contains a reference to a New Jerusalem — the “new house” — that will be established in the eschatological age (90.28-29, 33-36). But from where will this “new

this essential truth.

¹¹² MARTYN, *Galatians*, *loc. cit.*; LONGENECKER, *Galatians*, 212-213.

¹¹³ C.K. BARRETT, “The Eschatology of the Epistle to the Hebrews,” *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology: Essays in Honour of C.H. Dodd* (edd. W.D. DAVIES and D. DAUBE; Cambridge, 1954), 363-393 at 384-385.

house” come? R.H. CHARLES argues that it is envisioned that it will come from heaven, taking the text to read that the New Jerusalem was pre-existent, brought by God to the site where it would stand on earth, and then erected.¹¹⁴ Others disagree, concluding, in the words of RISSI, that “this future house ... was not conceived of as something already pre-existent in heaven, still less was anything said of its coming down from heaven at the end of time.”¹¹⁵ There really is no evidence to say either way. We might think that the divine act of “bringing” something to the site implied a heavenly origin, if not pre-existence.¹¹⁶ Alternately, the reference to dismantling the old and erecting the new suggests construction, perhaps a variation of the “new creation” theme.

Another case of ambiguity involves the New Jerusalem of *4 Ezra*. As with the New Jerusalem of *2 Baruch*, the future city of *4 Ezra* is explicitly pre-existent: “the city which now is not seen shall appear” (7.26); “the world to come is prepared ... a city is built” (8.52); “Zion will come and be made manifest to everybody” (13.36); and various places throughout the section 10.27-59.¹¹⁷ Indeed, at *4 Ezra* 6.1-6 we have a retrospective account of the creation, with the “footstool of Zion” being listed as one of the first things that was brought into being. The question here is whether the pre-existent Jerusalem of 7.26, which of course

¹¹⁴ On CHARLES, see note 51, above. In support of CHARLES’ view, P. ALEXANDER cites the *Animal Apocalypse* in a brief note discussing the antecedents of the heavenly Jerusalem which descends to earth. (“3 Enoch,” *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Volume One: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (ed. J.H. CHARLESWORTH, New York, 1983), 223-315 at 300, 48A note h).

¹¹⁵ RISSI, *The Future of the World*, 48.

¹¹⁶ HAMERTON-KELLY, “Origins of Jewish Apocalyptic,” 2.

¹¹⁷ On the difficulties with the Latin of 10.27 at the idea of a pre-existent Jerusalem, see E. HUMPHREY, *The Ladies and the Cities. Transformation and Apocalyptic Identity in Joseph and Aseneth, 4 Ezra, the Apocalypse and the Shepherd of Hermas* (JSPSup 17; Sheffield, 1995), 75-76.

must reside in heaven until its appearance, appears ultimately on earth or in heaven. Some scholars have opted for the latter site,¹¹⁸ while W. HARNISCH makes the case for the new city as the heavenly paradise.¹¹⁹ The evidence, however, indicates that the New Jerusalem was envisioned by the author of *4 Ezra* to manifest itself on earth, albeit the earth of the end-times. Along with the hidden city's appearing in the future at 7.26 comes the "land which now is hidden." STONE has argued that the unmodified term "land" denotes the land of Israel and speculates that there is no clear indication as to the specific meaning of the qualified phrase "hidden land."¹²⁰ There is nothing, though, that would disqualify this phrase from referring to the eschatological Israel, which is called simply "land" at 9.8, and all the more so when it is clear that both terms refer to objects in the eschatological age. Indeed, if we accept that both the historical city and the one that is hidden now, but will appear in the future, are called Zion (historical: 5.26, 10.23; future: 10.44, 13.35-36), it follows, if only on the basis of parallel construction, that the historical "land" and the "hidden land" are Israel. If this is the case, and if the future land is not in heaven, the site of the New Jerusalem might then be on earth, since it must be in the land.¹²¹ But this is simply one suggestion for a problem that cannot be solved easily; as STONE remarks, "Questions as to whether the city

¹¹⁸ R. KABISCH, *Das vierte Buch Esra auf sein Quellen untersucht* (Göttingen, 1889), 80-82; M.J. LAGRANGE, "Notes sur le messianisme au temps de Jésus," *RB* 14 (1905). 486-501 at 493-494.

¹¹⁹ W. HARNISCH, *Verhängnis und Verheissung der geschichte. Untersuchungen zum Zeit- und Geschichts-verständnis im 4. Buch Esra und in der syr. Baruchapokalypse* (FRLANT 97; Göttingen, 1969), 111.

¹²⁰ STONE, *Fourth Ezra*, 214.

¹²¹ The series of celestial and meteorological happenings (7.39-42) that will take place during these times is not a *prima facie* indication of an earthly setting, despite its apparent similarity to the list of eschatological events in Zechariah 14, which clearly contains an earthly New Jerusalem.

is the heavenly Jerusalem or an eschatological one should probably be answered with an ambiguous ‘Yes!’¹²²

In 2 *Baruch* there is evidence of *both* a heavenly and an earthly New Jerusalem. The example of the heavenly New Jerusalem in this text is found at 4.1-6.¹²³

(1) And the Lord said to me: “This city will be delivered up for a time, And the people will be chastened for a time, And the world will not be forgotten. (2) Or do you think that this is the city of which I said: ‘On the palms of my hands I have carved you’? (3) It is not this building that is in your midst now; it is that which will be revealed, with me, that was already prepared from the moment I decided to create Paradise. And I showed it to Adam before he sinned. But when he transgressed the commandment, it was taken away from him — as also Paradise. (4) After these things I showed it to my servant Abraham in the night between the portions of the victims. (5) And again I showed it also to Moses on Mount Sinai when I showed him the likeness of the tabernacle and all its vessels. (6) Behold, now it is preserved with me — as also Paradise.

The setting of this passage is the Babylonian epoch and the scene is the time immediately before the destruction of the city and of the Solomonic Temple. The New Temple is the city that is inscribed on the palms of the hands of God, an image grounded in the quotation from Isa 49.16 that evokes the image of the “blueprints” of the structure as well as the idea of creation, the physical act of the divine assembling of the city during the primaeval era. It is

¹²² STONE, *Fourth Ezra*, 335.

¹²³ English passages of 2 *Baruch* are taken from A.J. KLIN, “2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch,” *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Volume One: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (ed. J.H. CHARLESWORTH, New York, 1983).

a pre-existent, heavenly entity that cannot be changed¹²⁴ and that does not descend to earth. It is twice associated with Paradise, which given the context of the first reference to Adam must be Gan Eden. It is thus more than the historical Temple was or ever could be, for in its being shown to Adam and then Moses it appears as this archetypical object existing in a supra-historical sense. It is not the nexus of the connexion between heaven and earth, for it never appears on earth, nor could it.

Existing contemporaneously with this heavenly city, however, is the earthly New Jerusalem and Temple. The historical city of the Babylonian period — which through the fiction of pseudepigraphic authorship stands for the city under the Roman emperors — is doomed and the angel is instructed to retrieve the vessels and forty-eight precious stones¹²⁵ from the Temple complex and preserve them (6.7) until the time when Jerusalem “will be restored forever”¹²⁶ (6.9). In this light we might also view the expectations of 32.3-6, which are set in a section wherein Baruch instructs the people about the future and answers some of their questions (32.1-34.1). The city “will be shaken in order that it will be rebuilt” (32.2): it will be uprooted, remain desolate for a span of time, and then “renewed in glory” and “perfected into eternity” (32.3-4). In both 6.9 and 32.2 the Temple or Jerusalem expected in the future would appear to be of the same size and shape as their historical antecedents, although no details are offered and no eschatological events are associated with either

¹²⁴ See also *OdesSol* 4.1-3.

¹²⁵ This number is unique. As we have seen, twelve is the usual figure for gates, precious stones, and foundation stones.

¹²⁶ Cf. *4 Bar* 4.4, where Jeremiah goes outside the city and, “facing the sun,” throws the keys to the Temple. Does this imply that he throws them heavenward? Or does “facing the sun” mean that he was facing east, the direction from which the glory of God returns to the Temple in Ezekiel?

structure.

In the “Apocalypse of the Clouds,” a long review of history spanning chapters 53-76, past events are presented in a cycle of twelve alternating periods of black rain and clear rain, six rains apiece, that correspond to periods of Israel’s history from Adam until the rebuilding of the Jerusalem. The passage about the rebuilding of the city is difficult to categorize, however, since the reconstitution of Jerusalem is presented as both a historical event, with reference to the post-exilic restoration of the offerings and priesthood (68.5),¹²⁷ and as an eschatological phenomenon, with mention of the nations coming to honour the city (68.5-6) and the “fall of many nations” (68.7).¹²⁸

Concerning the phenomenon of heavenly New Jerusalems as a whole, and setting aside for a brief moment the issue of where they fit in with respect to the evolution of the topos, we observe that these heavenly Jerusalem texts share absolutely no common elements.

¹²⁷ KLIJN notes that “this refers to the restoration of the Temple after the exile in Babylon” (“2 Baruch,” 644 n. 68a).

¹²⁸ The presence of both a heavenly Temple and an earthly New Jerusalem and New Temple in *2 Baruch* has been a source of problem for scholars (We have not been able to examine R. NIR-GRINSHEIM, *The Destruction of Jerusalem in “The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch.”* (Tel-Aviv, 1996) [Hebrew] (reported by J. RIAUD, “Quelques réflexions sur l’*Apocalypse grecque de Baruch* ou *III Baruch* à la lumière d’un ouvrage récent,” *Sem* 48 (1998), 89-99 at 98-99, n. 32). KLIJN (“2 Baruch,” 617) argues that as evidence of its composite character *2 Baruch* uses conflicting traditions about the heavenly Temple and the restored Temple, although his assertion that the Temple of 4.1-6 will descend to earth is an odd one, given the substance of the passage. GAINES does not address the restored earthly Temple or Jerusalem with the view to solving the potential contradiction, and instead highlights the inadequacy of the (historical) rebuilt Temple in the face of the glory of the heavenly one (“Eschatological Jerusalem,” 145-161). While it would have been a happier situation had the author of this apocalypse outlined precisely how he conceived the eschatological aspects of both types to fit together, it is safe to posit that the heavenly Temple can and indeed must accommodate its earthly counterpart, especially if the author of *2 Baruch*, like the author or redactor of the *Temple Scroll*, understood the Temple that was to be constructed to be an interim structure, to survive until the day of the new creation, when God would establish the eternal Temple (cf. 11Q19 xxix). In fact, we note that the idea of a new creation is very much part of the understanding that underlies the appearance of the New Jerusalem in 4.1-6. This would explain the reference to the vessels and stones that were transported away from the doomed historical Temple (4.5). The implication is that they will be returned to the future-time Temple, since it makes no sense at all that they would be required in the pre-existent heavenly Temple.

The idea of the heavenly Jerusalem appears in “monumental” and “restored” expressions of the topos, and each expression may or may not contain few or many of the common themes that will be identified in the next section of this chapter. The corollary to this observation is that there is no one theme or element that is unique to the expressions of the heavenly New Jerusalem.

d. The Historical Development of the Topos

The sum total of the expressions of the New Jerusalem topos vary so widely in their selection and articulation of their elements and themes that it is impossible to posit a clear, comprehensive chronological evolution. Even though two basic types of New Jerusalems have been identified — the “Restored” and “Monumental” types — even these do not together account for the full range of the expressions of the theme.¹²⁹ More to the point, it cannot be said that the idea of the New Jerusalem emerged in these two basic forms in the prophetic texts of the early post-exilic period, grew more complex in the apocalyptic and oracular literature of the Hellenistic era, and reached its full maturation in the Jewish and Christian writings of the post-70 period. Such a statement is incorrect not only on the basis of the evidence of the expressions themselves, where fully-articulated examples of the topos (like the one preserved in Ezekiel 40-48) are quite early and comparatively terse ones (like those in *Psalms of Solomon* or Hebrews) are relatively late, but also in that it assumes a general consistency with respect to the manner in which the diverse elements and themes

¹²⁹ See notes 71 and 72, above, for some expressions of the New Jerusalem that do not seem to fit into either the “restored” or “monumental” categories.

developed over time, and this was simply not the case.¹³⁰

To be sure, the “restored” New Jerusalem and the “monumental” New Jerusalem are remarkably persistent types and are found throughout both the earlier and later expressions of the topos.¹³¹ One result of the persistence of the two types is that the *size* of the anticipated city or Temple did not undergo any sort of evolutionary development. In the majority of cases — early or late, Jewish or Christian — either the size of the new city is not noted or it mirrors that of the historical city. There is no historical progression from relatively small New Jerusalems to very large ones. Indeed, we also find the rarer “monumental” type represented across the spectrum of examples, from Ezekiel 40-48 to Revelation 21-22. The *shape* of the new city exhibits the same lack of development: the shape of most of the “restored” New Jerusalems is either left unmentioned or conforms to that of the Jerusalem of history, the latter usually by implication or with reference to prominent landmarks. As has been noted, the monumental cities, in contrast, are quadrilateral entities whose external and internal structures reveal a carefully planned regularity.

The evidence only permits an identification of certain very broad trends in the

¹³⁰ So notes GAINES, “Eschatological Jerusalem,” 26-27, who describes how so many surveyors of the theme were confounded in their attempts to impose a sense of order and development of the topos as it appeared in the biblical and extra-biblical literature.

¹³¹ It should be stressed that these two types likely flowed from the author’s intentions rather than preceded them — the fluidness of the form and the adaptability of the elements of the topos suggest this relationship. The elements of the topos are finite in number and were chosen and/or modified according to the requirements of the authors of the literature under examination. This is not to say that there existed a fixed series of elements that was consistently available to each author, as if each author were a painter who was painting from the same, unchanging palette. Nor is this to say that each element was itself a permanent colour, as if the reds, blues, or greens on every paint palette remained the same hue and shade of red, blue, or green no matter which painter used which palette. Having said this, we must also recognize that the topos enjoyed a certain measure of stability over the centuries. Indeed, the appearance, reappearance, and reworking of many elements and themes, time and again and spanning a wide variety of literary forms and theological perspectives, suggest strongly that these elements and themes were consciously and deliberately associated with the idea of the New Jerusalem.

evolution of the topos. One trend involves several aspects pertaining to the city's geographic and political situation. In the earlier descriptions of the new city there was a tendency to outline the city as it existed in its immediate topographic environment, with more emphasis on relating the names and descriptions of the physical geography of the terrain upon which it stood. Examples of this tendency include the description of the flow of the Temple river of Ezek 47:1-10, and both Zech 14:10b and Jer 31:38-40, each with its review of the landmarks of the restored Jerusalem. The same is true regarding the description of the social and political geography of the surrounding areas, including the matter of the ancillary villages (Isa 54:3) and the outlying areas (Zech 14:8-10a) and also the issue of land and its distribution (Ezek 47:13-48:29). Put another way, the idea of the New Jerusalem in these texts is often one where the city seemed inseparable from its physical and social geography and, by extension, from its role as the economic and political focus of the region (see, *e.g.*, Isa 60:6-14, with its description of the restored Jerusalem as the political and economic hub of the region).

In contrast, later texts such as Revelation 21-22 or *2 Bar* 4.1-6, regardless of their type, pay far less attention to these extramural elements. This is not to say that themes like the "Humbling of the Nations" completely disappear in the later texts, or that the descriptions of the gates — when they are part of the description of the new city — are more elaborate in the earlier expressions of the topos than they are in the later ones. Instead, what is at issue here is the extent of the surrounding area that is associated with the New Jerusalem, and there is a definite move in the later texts towards a shrinking of this extent so that only the new city and its own structures and functions remain important enough to

describe.

This is an important trend, and one that potentially reveals much about the evolution in the Second-Temple period of the Jewish view of the relationship between Israel and the nations. The idea of the New Jerusalem as a future-time response to a difficult present situation had its genesis in the crucible of the bitterness of the early post-exilic world, where the City of David had been leveled and the Temple of Solomon obliterated, and where the city and Temple that had been restored were seen by many as but poor reflections of their pre-exilic antecedents.¹³² The memory of kingdom and land were still strong, as was the memory of the central role that Jerusalem played economically, socially, and politically. It was only natural that the early post-exilic prophets understood that these elements were essential components of what had been lost and thus were also components of what was hoped would be regained.¹³³ As the centuries passed, however, so did the reasons why these elements needed to be included. There were always exceptions, of course, but most certainly by the Roman period the particulars of terrain surrounding the new city in the articulations of the topos tended not to be delineated and references to the city's physical and political setting have largely vanished.

This difference is seen by means of a comparison between the expressions of the

¹³² Cf. WATSON, "New Jerusalem," 1095: "The actual restoration in the Persian period was disillusioning, and in later Jewish literature the expectation of Jerusalem restored was replaced by Jerusalem supernaturally transformed by God ... or a Jerusalem from heaven which would replace the earthly Jerusalem altogether."

¹³³ J.J.M. ROBERTS argues that as the complex of motifs that constituted the pre-exilic Zion tradition lost meaning following the loss of empire, elements that had been expected within the context of history "gradually assumed the transhistorical dimensions of apocalyptic," including the motifs surrounding the historical Jerusalem, which were transferred to the heavenly Jerusalem ("Zion Tradition," *IDB Supplement Volume*, 985-987 at 987).

New Jerusalem that were composed in the aftermath of the Babylonian destruction of the city and the First Temple and those articulations of the New Jerusalem that followed in the wake of the Roman destruction of the city and the Second Temple. All things being equal, one would expect that the attention to the topographic and political settings exhibited in the early pre-exilic New Jerusalems would be reflected as well in the articulations of the new city in the post-70 CE texts. But this is not the case. Rather, the new cities of the post-70 texts like *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, and Revelation appear almost as if in a vacuum. Indeed, the city itself is the near-complete focus of attention and the extramural details, so prominent in the post-exilic expressions of the topos, are nowhere to be found.

This concentration on the city alone in later texts points to another development. Although there is no evidence to suggest that the topos underwent a linear historical evolution from envisioning earthly cities in the early texts to anticipating pre-existent and heavenly ones in the later texts, it is also true that both the pre-existent and the heavenly types of New Jerusalems are relatively late developments. At the same time, it would be a misinterpretation of the evidence to conclude that the destruction of the city and Temple by the Romans in 70 precipitated a complete change of expectation from an earthly New Jerusalem to a heavenly one, since: i) the idea of the heavenly Jerusalem is clearly pre-70 (the idea is present in Galatians and perhaps the *Animal Apocalypse*); ii) as noted, *2 Baruch* mentions *both* an earthly and a heavenly New Jerusalem; iii) also as noted, there is evidence to suggest that the New Jerusalem in *4 Ezra* is not a heavenly Jerusalem; and iv) the earthly type of new city did not suddenly disappear after 70 (*cf. 2 Bar 6.9, 32.2*). What we can say, therefore, is that the end of the city and the Second Temple, while not responsible for the

emergence of the heavenly or pre-existent types of New Jerusalems, may have led to their proliferation.¹³⁴ Perhaps this tendency is related to the aforementioned trend in the later expressions of the topos towards minimizing and then excluding the extramural physical and political elements. The movement from the purely earthly new city to the partially — or even wholly — heavenly one may be a continuation of this process, wherein even more of the connexions to the historical and topographic *realia* of the historic city are severed. Perhaps also the catastrophe of 70 was of such a magnitude and severity that the dream of an earthly future-time solution to the present woes became more and more inconceivable, so much so that any reversal of fortune that would come to pass would have to be one that would take place or would originate in the heavenly realm, completely severed from the situation on earth.

Regarding the issue of provenance, there appears to be no relationship between, on the one hand, the sort of group or community of Jews or Christians in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman worlds (to the extent to which such groups or communities may be identified) and, on the other hand, the type of New Jerusalem expressed in the literature. The topos appears in both Jewish and Christian texts and, to the extent that this can be determined, in the literature of both Palestinian and Diaspora Judaism. Also, and inasmuch as this can be determined, it is impossible to speak of those authors who envisioned more

¹³⁴ BÖCHER sums up the view: “Nach der Katastrophe des Jahres 70 n. Chr. kommt es keineswegs zum Erlöschen des Zionsschemas, sondern zur intensiven Ausrichtung der apokalyptischen Hoffnungen auf eine ferne, wunderbare Zukunft. Die aus priestlicher gelehrsamkeit der exilischen und frühnachexilischen Zeit stammende Vorstellung, sowohl des Heiligtum der Wüstenzeit (Ex 25,9.40; 26,30; 27,8) als auch der solomonische Tempel (1Chr 28,19) seien nach göttlichem Plan und Modell geschaffen worden, wird umgesetzt in die Erwartung, ein im Himmel seit Erschaffung der Welt vorhandenes, ideales Jerusalem werde am Ende der Zeit herabschweben und die zerstreuten Israeliten in seine Mauern aufnehmen (4Esr; Apk Bar syr.)” (“Die heilige Stadt im Völkerkrieg,” 121).

fantastic or particularly well-developed examples of the topos as belonging to more “extremist” groups, nor can we hold that the expressions of the new city that were comparatively subdued were themselves representative of more “normative” or mainstream beliefs. The only conclusion one might draw is that texts that exhibit a concern for describing the New Temple or its operation — such as we find in Ezekiel 40-48, the *Temple Scroll*, and the *NJ* — might stem from priestly circles.¹³⁵

3. *Common Themes in the Expressions of the New Jerusalem Topos*

Whereas the expressions of the New Jerusalem topos cannot be categorized in well-defined types and resist being classified in terms of their evolutionary development over time, the common themes among these many expressions of the topos are, in contrast, readily identifiable. In this section we will not identify and describe every single theme of the topos. Rather, we propose to discuss several of the most common, our criteria for inclusion being not only the frequency in which selected themes appear in the expressions of the topos, but also the degree to which these themes might shed light on the *NJ*.

a. The “Splendour of the City”

Gemstones or precious metals appear several times in the New Jerusalem literature¹³⁶

¹³⁵ This topic is addressed briefly in the Conclusion. Note that D.R. SCHWARTZ has suggested that a host of factors “combined to encourage Hellenistic Jews to focus on their attention on Jerusalem rather than the Temple,” but does not extend this argument to include the focus of eschatological speculation (“Temple or City: What Did Hellenistic Jews See in Jerusalem?” *The Centrality of Jerusalem. Historical Perspectives* (edd. M. POORTHUIS and Ch. SAFRAI; Kampen, 1996), 114-127)).

¹³⁶ Isa 49:18, 54:11-17; Tob 13:16-17; Revelation 21; and the *Animal Apocalypse* at 1 En 90.28-29. In Gal 4:27, immediately following the reference to the “heavenly Jerusalem” at 4:26, Paul introduces a specific biblical quotation, Isa 54:1, a Zion poem that introduces the passage 54:1-10, a complex meditation

and there are several references to these things in the *NJ* (e.g., 4Q554 2 ii 15). The primary function of jewels and precious metals in the expressions of the New Jerusalem is to exhibit the splendour and magnificence of the city.¹³⁷ Not only is the splendour manifested for its own sake, that is, as a visible representation of the inherently wonderful nature of the chosen city of God of the future, but also as a graphic illustration of the might of the city, which is presented as so wealthy¹³⁸ and influential that nations and cities once inimical to Jerusalem and its people now cower (note also the use of gemstones as material from which thrones are constructed).¹³⁹ Gemstones are quite hard, too, and this quality of indestructibility may have played its part,¹⁴⁰ especially when we consider that the structures most often identified with the precious stones — walls, battlements, and foundation-stones — are clear indications of

on YHWH's promise to ransom Jerusalem and his people. This meditation immediately precedes Isa 54:11-17, which tells how the future Zion would stand resplendent with precious gemstones.

Note also that reference to the future splendour of Jerusalem need not always involve gemstones or precious metals — sometimes the city is simply described as “shining” or “radiant”; cf. Isa 60:2-3, 60:15; the “clothes of glory” of *PsSol* 11.7 (cf. Bar 5:1-2); *SibOr* 5.414-433; *TestBen* 9.2a; 4 *Ezra* 10.25 (in an allegory), 10.50, and 10.55. See also the splendor of the New Temple at *SibOr* 3.657-668.

¹³⁷ W.W. READER (“The Twelve Jewels of Revelation 21,19-20: Tradition, History, and Modern Interpretations,” *JBL* 100 (1981), 433-457 at 446-448, 455) takes issue with the idea that the foundation-stones in Revelation are merely an indication of luxury and wealth. Instead, he argues that there exists a tradition in Pseudo-Philo's *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* of the High Priest's twelve jewels, which, having been hidden until the end, have a “*protological* as well as *eschatological* significance” (477, italic original). In addition, the jewels in both Pseudo-Philo and Revelation are in some way contrasted with corrupt, idolatrous images. READER'S argument sheds light on the antecedents of the stones of Revelation, but cannot account for the fact that neither the stones nor the city have this *protological* significance.

¹³⁸ Economic prosperity is also an implication of the splendid appearance of the New Jerusalem. Gold, silver, and other precious metals will be indications of its prosperity (Isa 60:17-18), and its material and agricultural bounty (60:12-13), which are elements of the restored city and land in all their senses, will be reserved for the people of YHWH (65:11-12). See also Zeph 3:20; Zech 1:17; *Apostrophe to Zion* (11Q5 xxii 4); Rev 21:26. Cf. also Rev 21:25b: the city is at eternal peace, for its gates are perpetually open, a universal sign that the city was open to traffic and commerce.

¹³⁹ See the list in G.H. MACURDY, “Platonic Orphism in the Testament of Abraham,” *JBL* 61 (1942), 213-226 at 217-218.

¹⁴⁰ MARTYN, with reference to Gal 4:26, cites the indestructible characteristic of jewels as another possible meaning (*Galatians*, *loc. cit.*).

a city's military might.¹⁴¹

Naturally, all expressions of the “monumental” New Jerusalem would have been splendid and worthy of awe, sometimes because these new cities are also covered in fine gold and rare jewels,¹⁴² but also simply because of their staggering size. Even the most imaginative author must have realized that no amount of tribute or homage could have brought in the tons of fine gold and precious stones that would have been needed to adorn or build such structures. These New Jerusalems were ideal creations of a future time, a time where the hand of God would act dramatically to change the fortunes of the city and its people.

b. The “Humbling of the Nations”

Related to the themes of wealth and military might is the idea that the New Jerusalem will become the place where its onetime enemies — now humbled and laid low — will gather, and also that the city which was no stranger to war in the past will become the city of peace in the future.¹⁴³ Indeed, in some texts there is the added element that these once-

¹⁴¹ A more recent, christological view of the gemstones and precious metals in Revelation is provided by U. VANNI, (“La dimension christologique de la Jérusalem Nouvelle,” *RHPT* 79 (1999), 119-133). He writes, “Reste qu’actuellement, en son cheminement de fiancée, elle saisit le charme irrésistible du Christ qui l’attire, au-dessus de tout logique humaine et de de toute représentation purement conceptuelle: le Christ est pour elle, l’église-fiancée, comme une pierre très précieuse qui enchante par sa splendeur.” (132)

On the lack of walls as an indication of a city's powerlessness, see *2 Bar* 7.1, where here and in the rabbinic *Pesiqta Rabbati* 26.16 the wall is breached by an angel (an element of God's control over history), thereby depriving the enemies of the city of the right to boast. On the latter text, see J. HEINEMANN, “A Homily on Jeremiah and the Fall of Jerusalem (*Pesiqta Rabbati*, *Pisqa* 26),” *The Biblical Mosaic: Changing Perspectives* (edd. R. POLZIN and E. ROTHMAN; SBLSS 10; Philadelphia/Chico, CA, 1982), 27-41.

¹⁴² *Cf.*, esp., the New Jerusalem of *NJ* and Revelation.

¹⁴³ See Isa. 2:2-3 (par. Micah 4:1), 60:11-12; *Apostrophe to Zion* (11Q5 xxii 11-12, where the enemies of the New Jerusalem have been scattered and the praise of Zion rises throughout the entire world like a pleasant scent); Tob 13:11, 14:6; *PsSol* 17.30-31; Rev 21:24; *2 Bar* 68.5-6. Note also passages like *TestDan*

proud nations will become subservient in the future. At Isa 60:12, for example, there is the statement that the nations or kingdoms that refuse to serve the New Jerusalem (the subject of the verse is clear from 60:10-11) will perish, while at *PsSol* 17.30 the alien and the foreigner will serve the mighty king who is to come and restore the glory of Jerusalem. We also note Zech 14:16, where those who survive of the defeated nations will be required to make an annual pilgrimage to worship the king, and Tob 13:11, where the nations are said to bring gifts into the city for the “King of Heaven.” In addition, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 3,¹⁴⁴ the *NJ* also contains this theme of the “Humbling of the Nations” with the added element that “the nations will serve them,” the pronoun probably referring to the inhabitants of the New Jerusalem.

In light of the “Humbling of the Nations” theme, we should also consider the multi-fold function of the defensive structures of the city. The walls of any city ancient or mediaeval — from the great walls of Nineveh to the famous walls of Tyre to the thick walls of Rome that proved too much for Hannibal to attempt an attack on the city — were an indication of its power and influence of the city.¹⁴⁵ This power and influence were manifested in many ways, including in the area of foreign affairs. Precisely this scenario surfaces repeatedly in the context of the New Jerusalem. The future-time city is portrayed as being the centre of the earthly kingdoms, the focus of their tribute and the nexus of

5.12-13a, where we find the expectation that the New Jerusalem will no longer be captive nor its people subject to oppression, that is, the first element of the “Humbling of the Nations” theme.

¹⁴⁴ See §3, b, ii.

¹⁴⁵ *Cf.*, for example, Jud 1:1-4, a passage which refers to Arphaxad’s power and military might as a function of the massiveness of his city walls. The wall is highlighted, as are its gates and foundations, the very elements so often emphasized in the descriptions of the New Jerusalem.

political, economic,¹⁴⁶ and (flowing from this) military might. It is not surprising that the base of operations of the army of the Sons of Light in the *War Scroll* is the Jerusalem of the future. In every case the underlying cause for such portrayals of the New Jerusalem is clear: change of status, from political impotence to political influence and from economic insignificance to economic dynamism, a change-of-status that sits at the heart of every expression of the New Jerusalem.

In some texts there is specific reference to a future-time war or conflict associated with the New Jerusalem, a conflict that should be understood as the cause of the reversal of fortune that prompts the humbling of the nations. In both Joel 3:9-12 and Sir 36:7, 9-10, for instance, the enemy is destroyed and the oppressors meet their doom before the gathering of the exiles and the exaltation of the New Jerusalem. In Ezekiel 38-39 YHWH triumphs over Gog, who represents the sum total of Israel's enemies and oppressors.¹⁴⁷ After the utter defeat of Gog comes the era of peace and restoration (39:25-29) that immediately precedes the long section on the New Jerusalem at Ezekiel 40-48, while in Zech 14:1-7 the defeat of the nations precedes the restoration of Jerusalem. But it is important to recognize that it is not always the case that a battle or conflict is directly connected to the appearance of the New Jerusalem or the theme of the "Humbling of the Nations." In the *War Scroll*, for example, the New Jerusalem appears as the future base of operations in the war prior to the war between the forces of light and dark.¹⁴⁸ In addition, while it is certainly possible that all

¹⁴⁶ On this economic aspect, see note 138, above.

¹⁴⁷ See also *2 Bar* 68.7 on the downfall of the nations.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. *Apoc. Elijah* 4.31: "And they will gird on the breastplate of God, and they will run to Jerusalem and fight with the shameless one."

the references to the “Humbling of the Nations” imply that these nations who once oppressed Jerusalem and its people will be conquered and thus be humbled through military defeat, this line of reasoning is not always explicit in every of the expressions of the theme.

c. The “Gathering of Israel”

Another theme common among the expressions of the New Jerusalem is the anticipation that exiles of Israel will once again be gathered together.¹⁴⁹ Sometimes the distribution of the land in the new age is mentioned explicitly,¹⁵⁰ but in most texts it seems to be the assumption that the returning exiles will reside in the New Jerusalem. Like the other themes, the theme of the “Gathering of Israel” has added dimensions beyond the simple collection of the people of God in the future age. In the “monumental” Jerusalem type there is the clear preoccupation with places (and perhaps even a function) for the population, from Ezekiel’s land-distribution schema to the orthogonal housing and block structure of the *NJ*. In the “restored” Jerusalem texts the promise of restoration and renewal clearly embraces the city, the surrounding terrain,¹⁵¹ and the inhabitants, with the fruits of the promise manifested in an interconnected way that involves drastic and beneficial physical changes

¹⁴⁹ In the context of an expression of the hope for the New Jerusalem, this theme appears at Isa 27:12-13, 45:13, 49:19-20; Joel 3:2; Zeph 3:19-20; Zech 8:7-8; Tob 13:11-14; Tob 14:5; *PsSol* 11.2-6 (par Bar 4:36-37) and 17.26; and the passages cited in the following note. The theme also appears at Ezek 39:25-29; *TestBen* 9.2; *etc.*

¹⁵⁰ Ezek 47:13-48:29 is the most developed expression of the distribution of land in the future age, but see also Tob 14:5 and Sir 36:11.

¹⁵¹ *Cf.* Isa 54:3 (mentioning the surrounding cities), Isaiah 62 (where the surrounding land is held to be an inseparable component of the new city (62:2-4, *cf.* 62:12)), First Zechariah (where principal boon of this expected favour is the bounty by which both Jerusalem and its environs will become populous (Zech 2:8 [RSV 2:4], 8:4-5); and the cities surrounding the New Temple of the *Temple Scroll* (on which, see §2, c, above).

to the city and thus to the social, military and economic status of the people. As with the biblical traditions concerning the historical Jerusalem, the New Jerusalem is rarely (if ever) a physical entity that stands divorced from its denizens.

d. The “Water of Life”

The conception of a spring or water of some kind that flows from the New Jerusalem is another very common theme of the topos and one that is also found in the *NJ* (4Q554 4 lines 1-2).¹⁵² The water-tradition is often portrayed in the Hebrew Bible with the added dimension of the resulting fecundity of the soil¹⁵³ or salvation of the people. Purification imagery also plays a role,¹⁵⁴ as does possibly the idea that the city of God is built beside a stream.¹⁵⁵ Another tradition upon which the references to the stream might be based is that of a fertile Gan Eden or Paradise and specifically, the reference in Gen 2:10 to the stream that issues from Eden and splits¹⁵⁶ to become the four world-rivers of that particular cosmology.

Historically, the need for water has been a perennial question for any ancient city,

¹⁵² See Chapter 1, *loc cit.*

¹⁵³ Ps 36:8-10.

¹⁵⁴ Exodus 17; Numbers 20; Pss 78:15-16, 105:41, 114:8. Perhaps also the role of baptism needs to be explored here.

¹⁵⁵ Ps 46:4.

¹⁵⁶ A final point about the theme of life-giving water concerns an image that appears in the *Sefer ha-Bahir*, where twelve pipes or conduits emerge from a central spring and carry the divine water to the people of Israel. The same theme is found also on a painting from Dura-Europus, where from a well before the Tabernacle springs twelve rivers, each flowing into the midst of one of the twelve tribes. (SCHIFFMAN, “Architecture and Law,” 283)

and all the more so for the city of Jerusalem. Indeed, the structures associated with water and water-delivery systems are among the most characteristic structural elements of the city. Associated with Jerusalem are the Pool of Siloam, the Tunnel of Hezekiah, the pools of the city, and the Spring of Gihon. Just as a city without walls was unthinkable, so too was a desert city without a reliable fresh water supply. And just as the walls *qua* walls gained layers of symbolic meaning in the service of the New Jerusalem topos,¹⁵⁷ so too did the reality of a constant water-delivery system gain added meaning when it was set in the context of the future-time expectation of a restored or new city.

The water is a vector by which life is given to things by the touch of the deity, and in the context of the New Jerusalem, the spring or stream that issues from the city or Temple represents the hand of God providing a source of life to the New Jerusalem that is every bit as important as the walls of the new city. In Isa 33:21 the element of water appears following statements that the new city is to be protected by YHWH (31:5) and that the land itself will be blessed (30.25); perhaps it refers to irrigation and future fruitfulness of the otherwise arid land. The theme of life-giving waters is also an element of Ezekiel, where a stream runs east from under the New Temple (47:1-12; cf. Joel 3:18) to become the gushing torrent that flows through the hitherto lifeless desert, while in Zechariah the water is understood in terms of its agricultural import: the living water (מים חיים) flows in two streams, east and west, through the summer and the winter months (14:8), the implication being that there is no longer a dry season and that the life-giving water would continue year-round to bring fertility and abundance to the land. This imagery in Zechariah is further intensified by the reference

¹⁵⁷ See the conclusions to this chapter.

that the territory from Geba to Rimmon will be a plain (14:10), a hitherto hilly region now made flat and therefore appropriate for farming. In Joel 3, which foretells the defeat of the nations and the restoration of Jerusalem, we are told that not only will all the streams of Judah will be filled with water and a spring issue from the Temple (*cf.* Ezek 47:1-12), but that also Egypt and Edom will become deserts, lands of waste (3:18-19). In the *Book of the Watchers*, there is an aqueduct in the midst of the desert (*1 En* 28.3), which echoes the familiar theme of life-giving water appearing in the midst of desolation.¹⁵⁸ Finally, the stream that runs through the New Jerusalem of Revelation is explicitly called the ὕδατος ζωῆς (22:1).

e. The “Measuring of the City”

One of the more prominent elements of the preserved portions of the *NJ* is that the structures of the New Jerusalem are carefully measured, with the distances often expressed not once but twice, in both rods and cubits. This explicit act of measuring — as opposed to situations where dimensions are simply listed — is also a feature in Jer 31:39, Ezekiel 40-48 (*passim*), Zech 1:16 and 2:5-6 (RSV 2:1-2), the *Temple Scroll* (*passim*), the *Reworked Pentateuch*,¹⁵⁹ and Rev 21:15-17.¹⁶⁰ The act of measuring, therefore, while particularly

¹⁵⁸ In the second *Similitude*, after God has transformed both heaven and earth (45.1-5), the hills will gush water like a fountain (53.7).

¹⁵⁹ See Chapter 1, Table IV, “Named Gates in the Biblical and Extra-Biblical Literature.”

¹⁶⁰ In the second *Similitude*, Enoch is shown some angels, who, before flying off in a northwesterly direction, are given a length of rope or cord, apparently in order to take measurements (*1 En* 61.1-5). The translation at this point reads “north,” but BLACK promptly explains “i.e. more precisely to the north-west where the Garden of Righteousness is located (*cf.* 70.3 and 77.3)” (see M. BLACK (with J.C. VANDERKAM), *The Book of Enoch or First Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes* (SVTP 7; Leiden, 1985), 231). E. ISAAC reads “northeast” (“1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” *The Old Testament*

important to the expressions of the “monumental” Jerusalem, is not specifically restricted to this type.

It is perhaps a truism to state that in every example of measuring that occurs in the context of revelatory literature it is the angelic guide who measures, not the seer. In a general sense, this is a function of the revelatory setting by which the measurements are communicated to the reader, wherein the guide is the active participant and the seer is the passive recipient. But there are nuances to this broad dynamic of active participation and passive reception. For example, there are instances where the seer himself is involved in the process by which information is imparted through the revelatory vehicle.¹⁶¹ More to the point is the underlying issue of authenticity, in that the measuring of the various structures by the divine guide himself ensures that the dimensions obtained by the guide and transmitted by the seer are guaranteed to be accurate. By extension, then, the entire vision warrants this guarantee, and it is primarily in this light that we should understand the emphasis placed by certain descriptions of the New Jerusalem and/or the New Temple on disclosing both the gross and minute details of the various structures.

Another possible reason why things are measured is what S. NIDITCH terms “not

Pseudepigrapha, Volume One: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments (ed. J.H. CHARLESWORTH, New York, 1983), 5-89 at 42).

What exactly is to be measured is a matter of debate, since the passage is quite confusing. One might expect, given this flight to the Garden of Righteousness, the eschatological setting, and the presence of heavenly figures sporting measuring-lines, that the angels would be measuring the New Jerusalem or the New Temple. But this is not the case — if anything, what is actually being measured seems to be something that is integral to the difference between the elect and all the rest. On the possibility of a measuring a human characteristic or quality, see Rev 11:1, where the measuring-rod appears to be used to measure human quantities.

¹⁶¹ An example being Ezek 47:1-6, where the seer discovers for himself the depth of the river by walking across its width at various points.

merely a careful concern with engineering and architectural definition but also a process of cosmogeny, of world-ordering.”¹⁶² This concern, which in evidence to a greater or lesser extent depending on which expression of the New Jerusalem topos is examined, manifests itself on two levels.

The first level is the human one, inasmuch as it is a fundamental human desire to create order out of natural and social phenomena, “putting things in their place,” so to speak.¹⁶³ From this world-ordering impetus derives the desire for classification, which is no more than the separation of like elements from unlike ones. In Ezekiel 40-48, for example, there are many examples of separation and segregation: between the sacred land and the profane land, between the territory allotted to Judah and the territory allotted to Benjamin, between this named gate and that named gate, and so on. The act of measurement is by no means integral to this process of separation and segregation — and this is why it does not appear in every expression of the topos — but whenever it is employed in a text, it automatically reinforces the purpose of the process. The reason for this is simple: if world-ordering on a human level is no more than this act of putting things in their place, the more precise the act, the more effective will be the result. In short, the act of measuring very much assists the process of arranging the world.

¹⁶² “Visionary Context,” 217.

¹⁶³ It should be noted, however, that there is a tendency, especially evident in pre-modern philosophies and cosmologies but by no means confined to them, for the products of this world-ordering process to be inclusive in orientation rather than exclusive. Put another way, most world-ordering schemes do not “leave things out”: creation stories encompass all of creation — to the extent as it was understood at the time — without deliberately mentioning that there exists something that cannot be accounted for by the story; legal codes may have a definite scope and intention, but they tend not to include situations for which no provision is made under the code itself; apocalyptic reviews of history that periodize the past in terms of the waxing and waning of kingdoms do not mention kingdoms which lie outside its schema.

The concern for order is also manifested on a universal level. Basically, this means that the coherence of an earthly system is understood to correspond to a universal or cosmic system by means of a relationship that may be signified in a number of ways. Symbolic numbers, for instance, have at their heart this idea of their correspondence with the universal,¹⁶⁴ as do symbolic architectural shapes, such as the square.¹⁶⁵ Ideal cities, too, have a tendency to fall into this category, with respect both to symbolic numbers (if applicable) and to the spatial arrangements and patterns among its architectural elements. A further example would be microcosmic/macrocosmic schemata, where a specific pattern of cosmic symmetry is reflected on a smaller scale on the earthly template. Whatever their formulation, all potential aspects of world-ordering processes gain an added dimension of meaning and dominion (for what is really at stake here but one person's version of order over another's?) when they are meant to reflect a harmony with a larger authority. This is the case whether this authority appears in the form of a geometric maxim, such as the ratio between the sides of the famous "Golden Rectangle" that appears time and again in art and architecture, or whether it is exerted in the form of the separation of things sacred and profane as expressed in divine commandments or statements, such as we found in Jer 31:38-40, where the measuring-line delineates exactly that which "shall be holy to Yahweh."¹⁶⁶ In fact, this

¹⁶⁴ The relationship is either direct (a specific number might in itself might be a special number) or indirect (the number is special because it refers to the number of heavenly objects (*e.g.*, the twelve signs of the zodiac) or universal ones (*e.g.*, the four elements — fire, air, earth, water — of classical physics)).

¹⁶⁵ MAIER, "Cultic Architecture," 69-71.

¹⁶⁶ Strictly speaking, the measuring-line is extended only over the portion of the perimeter extending from Gareb Hill to Goah (31:39). The implication, however, is that the act is extended over the entire boundary of the city, in order that a determination may be made of the area that "shall be holy to Yahweh." The measuring-line in this case is simply a tool by which the separation between sacred and profane is made plain; like the razor-thin pieces of hide that Dido cut in order to encircle the future city of Carthage, the measuring-

delineation between sacred and profane space, while not a key element in all the expressions of the topos, appears with enough regularity as to demand notice.

Another reason for an emphasis on measuring in the expressions of the topos might lie in the tendency for historical Temples and similar structures to be described in comparative detail in the Hebrew Bible. Examples include the exposition of the details of the First Temple and their measurements in 1 Kings 6-7 and the corresponding account at 2 Chr 3:1-5:1.¹⁶⁷ Measurements also play a role in the descriptions of the building of the Second Temple, although to a far lesser degree.¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, a stress on specific details is prominent in the description of the structures of the wilderness sanctuary and the tabernacle.¹⁶⁹

Detailed and idealized descriptions of the Jerusalem or its Temple are also a feature of a number of Second-Temple writings. The *Letter of Aristeas*, for example, contains a long section on the description of Jerusalem in Hellenistic times, and the elements highlighted by the author of the *Letter* constitute a virtual roster of the elements that are so prominent in the eschatological speculations on the New Jerusalem.¹⁷⁰ In the fragments of Eupolemus, too, we find an idealization of the historical record with a detailed description of Solomon's

line of Jeremiah circumscribes the city and sets it apart from the surrounding terrain.

¹⁶⁷ See also Jos., *Ant.* 8.64ff. Jer 52:20-23 describes the dimensions and details of the two bronze pillars.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Ezra 6:3-4, *1 Esd* 6.24-25, Jos., *Ant.*, 11.10-11.

¹⁶⁹ Exodus 26-28. Cf. Pseudo-Philo, *LAB* 19.10.

¹⁷⁰ For example, the description of the mount (§83); the walls and door (§§84-85), the furnishings (§§86-87) and the orientation (§88) of the Temple; the water supply (§§89-91); the walls and defenses of the city (§§100-101) and its size and interior structures (§§104-106); and a description of the surrounding terrain (§116).

Temple that enlarges certain dimensions and that may incorporate elements from the Second Temple.¹⁷¹ Finally, we should add that the tendency for measuring the dimensions of both the earthly Temples and sanctuaries and the eschatological cities and Temples might be based in the need of most societies to calculate land surveys and boundary termini with accuracy.

Measuring also plays a principal role in any construction project, involving not only the initial calculations of the surveyors and the architects, but also the constant use of the plumb line, leveling line, and measuring cord by the on-site builders and craftsmen. A significant aspect of the act of measuring objects in Ezekiel's vision of the new city is the explicit presence of a measuring line (פּתִיל פְּשֵׁתִים), literally, "a line of flax") and a measuring rod (קִנְיָה הַמְדוּדָה) (40:3). As J. BLENKINSOPP notes, the function of the guide is revealed by his tools, just as the function of the man at Ezek 9:2 is revealed by his pen and ink.¹⁷² The line was probably meant for measuring distances longer than the cubit or the rod, though it would have to have been a very fine cord indeed if it were meant to span an entire stadion or an equivalent distance.¹⁷³ In cases where the expectation of the future Jerusalem is accompanied by fewer, simpler indications of measuring, such as we find in Jeremiah or First Zechariah, the image generated is of the surveying process, be it in the form of an appraisal of the perimeter or a reckoning of the dimensions of length and breadth. The

¹⁷¹ *Apud* Euseb., *PrEv*, 9.26.34. See also M. DELCOR, "La description du Temple de Salomon selon Eupolémus et le problème de ses sources." *RevQ* 13 (1988). 251-271.

¹⁷² BLENKINSOPP, *Ezekiel*, 200.

¹⁷³ That this longer measurement had its basis in the human world (and was not some unknown length) has to be assumed. After all, all the other measurements were in units (cubits and rods) that were familiar to humans.

surveying process, as the initial step in any building operation, that is, the one which precedes and anticipates the rest of the construction procedure, might substitute for the complete expression of the many details of this construction procedure, details that would have been understood by the audience.¹⁷⁴ The survey process, therefore, as the natural and logical first step in any construction procedure, might function in a sense as a guarantee: just as the first step will be completed, so too will the rest of the procedure.

C.L. MEYERS and E.M. MEYERS suggest that חבל, a word for line or cord that is employed in the context of measuring Jerusalem at Zech 2.5 [RSV 2.1], is found several times elsewhere coupled with the vocabulary of inheritance,¹⁷⁵ in the sense of “lot” or “assigned portion.” Accordingly, they posit that the act of measuring takes place both as a physical act (measuring the dimensions of the city) and as a symbolic one (measuring “Judah’s inheritance of God’s historical apportionment to Israel”). Although this argument is restricted to instances where the term חבל appears in this precise and specific context, we might add that the idea of inheritance also calls to mind the traditions that speak of Jerusalem as God’s chosen city, with the stress on the causal element that spans past and future; that is, *just as* Jerusalem prospered in the past under God’s favour, *so too* in the future will it prosper again. This is the sort of logic that we find repeated in different guises in the literature under discussion in this chapter, from the simple statement of the fact time and

¹⁷⁴ This is not to say that in such cases the authors of the texts had all of these many details in mind but deliberately omitted them on the presumption that the mere mention of the surveying process would act as substitute. Such an argument presumes that there was only one detailed expression of the New Jerusalem topos and that it was altered and mutated as authors of later texts saw fit, a thesis to which this chapter does not subscribe.

¹⁷⁵ C.L. MEYERS and E.M. MEYERS, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8* (AB 25B; Garden City, 1987), 150. The examples they cite are Deut 32:9, 1 Chr 16:18, and Pss 78:55 and 105:11. We might add that Mic 2:5, which also contains the word חבל, also conveys a sense of “lot.”

again in First Zechariah to *4 Ezra*'s elaborate understanding of a Jerusalem lost and a New Jerusalem hoped for.

Despite what has been said about the meaning of the act of measuring, certain issues remain not fully resolved.¹⁷⁶ For example, there is the apparent incongruity between, on the one hand, the desire in certain texts to blueprint accurately the recondite architectural data of cities and structures and, on the other hand, the evidence that the blueprint itself is incomplete or flawed in places. This seeming dichotomy may be the result of scribal error, as it is in the *NJ* at 4Q554 1 ii 18,¹⁷⁷ or an inexplicable lack of precision, as we witness in the approximate dimensions of the outer court of the New Temple in the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19 xl 8). More commonly, though, such incongruities are simply part of the description, which might have included presuppositions that seemed obvious to readers in the ancient world but that now appear unclear to us.

f. Summary

The New Jerusalem topos is especially rich in its diverse themes and many different elements. The essential aspect of the topos is its function as a reversal-of-fortune response to the present situation. This function, which has political, social, and economic manifestations, is apparent in the physical appearance of the new city and in every one of

¹⁷⁶ We note also the potential objection: If precise measurements impart a sense of authority or (if they are symbolic) reflect in microcosm a fundamental cosmic order, why then is not every text that mentions the New Jerusalem so burdened with an endless roster of measurements large and small? To some extent this question is not answerable in that we do not always know why certain authors composed texts in the way they did. Beyond this truism, however, the reasons why certain texts had many measurements and others had none remain unknown.

¹⁷⁷ See Chapter 1, Note on the Reading, *ad loc.*

the common themes. Regardless of whether it appears in renewed or monumental form, the hope for the New Jerusalem is not solely a reaction to the physical state of the historical city — be it destroyed, diminished, or otherwise unsuitable for its anticipated future-time role — but is also a response to the dispersal of the people of the city and the surrounding environs. The social and economic dimensions that explicitly and implicitly flow from the reconstitution of the city, as specifically expressed by certain themes of the topos, are grounded in the manner in which the new city is portrayed and its future-time functions: the city stands as the locus for the gathering of the dispersed, who are reckoned secure from external threat by the defenses of the city (note the repeated emphasis on the walls, battlements, gates, and other defensive structures in the literature) and by the honour and tribute accorded to it by its former enemies. Indeed, the great size of the city in Ezekiel 40-48 and other “monumental” articulations of the topos might also be grounded in the need for defense from enemies, given that the enormous structure of such a city would have dwarfed the capital cities of even the most fearsome and threatening of Jerusalem’s enemies.

The expressions of the New Jerusalem are therefore inseparable from their *political*, *social*, and *religious* contexts. This simple truth cannot be overstated. So much of the overarching theme of the reversal of fortune is connected to the restoration of the physical city and, by extension, its local and international status, communicated by means of the appearance of the different elements: the population increase, the security of city and surrounding territory from war (communicated especially well by the theme of the “Humbling of the Nations”), and agricultural bounty, the last connected to references to life-giving streams and mention of the peripheral villages. It is clear from these New Jerusalem

passages that the primary way in which most of the writers understood the historical Jerusalem, which in its idealized or ideal state was the ultimate referent of their speculations and expectations, was in its function as a political, economic, religious, and social hub.¹⁷⁸ It is unsurprising, then, that the expectation of the New Jerusalem should also refer to these functions. Moreover, rarely if ever is the New Jerusalem simply an architectural object, devoid of life or of any relationship with human activity. Rather, in all the well-developed expressions of the topos we find its elements have meaning on many layers, even if they are not always explicit: daily life in the city, peace in which to conduct business and to let old persons and children walk in the streets, and the operation of the Temple. In other words, a basic corporate understanding is implicit in all descriptions of New Jerusalem, even formulaic, blueprint-like texts like the *NJ*. Furthermore, and perhaps above everything else, the anticipated security and prosperity for the city and its inhabitants also implies the survival of the cult.

B. The New Jerusalem Text and the New Jerusalem Topos

In this section of the chapter we are concerned with the ways in which our examination of the New Jerusalem topos might provide a broader context in order to help us better understand the *NJ*. We will concentrate on three areas where our study of the topos might shed some light: the genre of the *NJ*, the order of the material in the *NJ*, and the place of the *NJ* in the world of ancient urban design.

¹⁷⁸ This is not to discount the symbolic language associated with and roles assigned to the city, which appear time and again in the biblical and extra-biblical literature.

4. *The New Jerusalem Topos, the NJ, and the Issue of Genre*

Despite the fact that it is only partially preserved, the *NJ* is quite obviously an expression of the New Jerusalem topos of the “monumental” type. Since no clear, linear historical progression of the expressions of the New Jerusalem in the biblical and extra-biblical literature can be identified, it is impossible to suggest a date of the composition of the *NJ* on the basis of its place in the development of the topos. The same is true with respect to the size and shape of its New Jerusalem. As noted, these are elements of the topos that particularly resist the sort of detailed classification that enables one to envision an evolutionary schema against which individual expressions of the New Jerusalem may be situated and dated.

There is no evidence to suggest that the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* is heavenly. To be sure, the text is only partially preserved, and, as reported in our discussion of the phenomenon of heavenly new cities, there is no specific theme or element that may be identified within a specific text that will automatically indicate that its New Jerusalem is a heavenly entity. At the same time, as will be detailed in Chapter 3, the setting of the “eschatological section” of 4Q554 2 iii (+ 4Q554 7) is clearly an earthly one, with figures and events occurring that demand an earthly stage. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ suggests that the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* is the celestial model for this eschatological city, although he provides no proof that the subject of the *NJ* is a *model* rather than the actual eschatological city that will be created or constructed.¹⁷⁹ We very much hesitate, however, to employ the adjectives “celestial” or “heavenly” in the context of New Jerusalems that do not specifically descend

¹⁷⁹ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “New Jerusalem,” *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 609.

from heaven. That the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* is a heavenly entity is also questioned by J. FREY, who notes that the presence of priests (*cf.* 11Q18 14 ii, 11Q18 15) rather than angels as the ones who are involved with the cultic ceremonies indicates an earthly setting rather than a heavenly one.¹⁸⁰

With respect to the question of the genre of the *NJ*, and despite the confusion in assigning a concrete definition to the term “genre,”¹⁸¹ the evidence demonstrates that there is no identifiable “New Jerusalem” genre as there are genres of testamentary or apocalyptic literature. The expressions of the New Jerusalem are not limited to a specific form of literature, appearing as they do in prophetic, oracular, epistolary, apocalyptic,¹⁸² testamentary, and wisdom formats. The elements that we have described and discussed are

¹⁸⁰ FREY, “Contexts,” 801, note 4. FUJITA’S argument that the Temple of the *NJ* is a heavenly sanctuary and will be staffed by angels cannot stand. In his defense, FUJITA wrote before the vast majority of the 4Q*NJ* and 11Q*NJ* fragments were known to scholarship. See S. FUJITA, “The Temple Theology of the Qumran Sect and the Book of Ezekiel: Their Relationship to Jewish Literature of the Last Two Centuries B.C.” (Diss: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1970), 313-315.

¹⁸¹ See F. DE BRUYN, “Genre Criticism,” *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory. Approaches, Scholars, Terms* (ed. I.R. MAKARYK; Toronto/Buffalo/London, 1993), 79-85.

¹⁸² Thus we must not explain the development of the tradition solely in the larger terms of the development of apocalyptic thought, since only a portion of the tradition is to be found in apocalyptic texts. On the tendency to understand the New Jerusalem primarily in terms of apocalyptic thought, see, *e.g.*, the assertions of P.L. GARBER and R.W. FUNK, “Jewels and Precious Stones,” *IDB* (New York/Nashville, 1962), 898-905 at 905; H.W. ATTRIDGE, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia, 1989), 324: “The notion that Hebrews exploits is based upon the apocalyptic expectation of a new Jerusalem, prepared from the creation of the world”; and G.W. HANSEN, *Abraham in Galatians. Epistolary and Rhetorical Contexts* (JSNTSup 29; Sheffield, 1989), 148, who calls the referent of Paul’s allegory at Gal 4:21-31 “the apocalyptic image of the eschatological heavenly Jerusalem.” S. SAFRAI (“The Heavenly Jerusalem,” *Ariel* 23 (1969), 11-16 [*non vidi*, but cited by GAINES, “Eschatological Jerusalem,” 22]) maintains that the origins of the heavenly Jerusalem are to be found in apocalyptic, its first expression being in *I Enoch*.

The history of the scholarship that examines the New Jerusalem as an eschatological entity within the context of apocalyptic thought is found in GAINES, “Eschatological Jerusalem,” 13-28. Note also her conclusion: “Early studies focused on the contrast between plans for a human-reconstructed city and visions of a heavenly metropolis established by God. This distinction was stressed most heavily by interpreters who attempted to use the image as a means of demonstrating the origins of apocalyptic thought.” (423)

not elements of a formal genre but of a topos.¹⁸³ While one may identify the various expressions of the New Jerusalem, and even perhaps isolate some general types and common themes, this process never extends beyond the taxonomical. HALS suggests that the term “plans” (in the sense of “blueprints”) might be used to describe the genre of certain sections of Ezekiel 40-48, but even he recognizes that the label is only “partially appropriate.”¹⁸⁴ For example, both Ezekiel 40-48 and the *NJ* contain sections that do not describe the layout of the city or Temple. In sum, the genre of each text in which an expression of the New Jerusalem topos appears is completely unconnected to the fact that the expression appears in that text at all.

As a result, this investigation into the expressions and categories of the New Jerusalem topos can shed no light on the question of the genre of the *NJ*, which must instead proceed from the study of its contents and the manner in which these contents are presented to the reader. The question that has dominated research in the study of the genre of the *NJ* is whether the *NJ* is an apocalypse or contains apocalyptic elements. That the *NJ* is very likely an apocalypse, as the term is defined by J. COLLINS,¹⁸⁵ has been convincingly demonstrated by GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, and it is not necessary to reproduce his arguments in detail.¹⁸⁶ As for the form of the *NJ*, FREY comments that it is best classified as a “narrative description of visionary revelation” (the repeated use of visionary terminology, including

¹⁸³ *Contra* the assertion of GREENFIELD, review of *DJD* III, 132.

¹⁸⁴ HALS, *Ezekiel*, 298.

¹⁸⁵ J.J. COLLINS, “Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” *Semeia* 14 (1979), 1-20.

¹⁸⁶ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” 452-453.

instances where the seer reports what the mediating figure does or demonstrates), although he understands the eschatological section of 4Q554 2 iii to be part of a direct speech,¹⁸⁷ in which the indirect, mediated quality of the interpretation of the vision is replaced with direct narrative.

Whether one ought to agree with WACHOLDER that the *NJ* is an Aramaic “Vision of Ezekiel”¹⁸⁸ is a difficult question. Ezekiel 40-48 is the direct antecedent of the *NJ* from the perspective of the ideal-city tradition in Jewish literature, and so many of the characteristics of the prophetic book — detailed descriptions of architectural phenomena, a predilection for measurement, the focus on both the city and the Temple complex and its operation — are reflected in the *NJ*. To be sure, these elements are typical of the “monumental” type of the topos, also appearing in texts like the *Temple Scroll*, which no one would consider a “Vision of Ezekiel.” But there are a great many differences between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* (see Chapter 3, *passim*), not least of which is the fact that the latter is not a pseudepigraphon in the classic sense, nor does it communicate intermediated revelatory information. In addition, both Ezekiel 40-48 and the *NJ* cover the same general content, and it seems that “pseudepigraphic trajectories” we find extending throughout Jewish and Christian literature of the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine times — that is, a group of texts of various date and provenance that are attributed to the same pseudonymous author of texts — are defined by such general functions and themes rather than by specific information. In other words,

¹⁸⁷ FREY, “Contexts,” 803-804.

¹⁸⁸ B.Z. WACHOLDER, “The Ancient Judaeo-Aramaic Literature (500-164 BCE). A Classification of Pre-Qumranic Texts,” *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. L.H. SCHIFFMAN; JSPSup 8, JSOT/ASOR Monographs 2; Sheffield, 1990), 257-281 at 264.

even though Ezekiel 40-48 and the *NJ* differ widely with respect to the way that each describes the New Jerusalem, the fact that both are presentations of the “monumental” sort is the key. The same phenomenon is seen with respect to the Christian and Jewish Daniel literature of the first millennium CE, examples of which are almost exclusively concerned with what became the standard functions and themes of the biblical seer as he is presented in this later literature, namely, the interpretation of dreams and the concern for predictions of a political and historical vein. It is a possibility, then, that the *NJ* is part of the large corpus of Ezekiel pseudepigrapha that was variously composed from the Persian to the Byzantine periods and of which 4QPseudo-Ezekiel was a part (see Chapter 3, §5, d).

5. *The New Jerusalem Topos and the Order of the Material in the NJ*

All discussion of the order of its material in the *NJ* must recognize and consider three essential points regarding the text. The first point is that there is no way to know how much of the text has been lost. For instance, many scholars have claimed that 4Q554 1 columns i and ii, where the walls and named gates of the new city are described, represent the first two columns of the *NJ*.¹⁸⁹ One potential difficulty with this viewpoint is that only the bottom left quarter of the text of 4Q554 1 column i is extant. It is impossible to know on the basis of the physical evidence alone, therefore, whether 4Q554 1 i was the first column of the *NJ*.¹⁹⁰ The second point is that there is no way to tell whether the text that has been lost

¹⁸⁹ See the discussion in §5, a, below.

¹⁹⁰ That is, without the top portion of the column we have no indication of the beginning of a document, and without the right half of the column we have no indication whether there was a preceding column.

contained material that could potentially cause us to re-evaluate the *NJ*. The final point is that the preserved portions of the *NJ* contain three distinct types of material: i) the identification and measurements of the urban architectural phenomena of the New Jerusalem, ii) the description of the Temple complex and its operation, and iii) the eschatological section of 4Q554 2 iii and 4Q554 6, which most scholars understand to refer to an eschatological battle but which we will argue in Chapter 3 probably contains a review of history and an expression of the “Humbling of the Nations” theme previously outlined in §3, b, above.

The question that will be addressed in this section is whether a study of the New Jerusalem topos might shed new light on the issue of the order of the material in the *NJ*. The investigation will focus on the issue of the extent to which the order of the material in the *NJ* may be determined and whether the order of material in the other “monumental” expressions of the topos can help shed light on the order of the material in the *NJ*.

a. The Order of the Material in the *NJ*

The issue of the order of the material in the *NJ* presents several difficult questions and few substantive answers. The two major issues are the extent to which the text from each copy could be arranged in order, and the extent to which the text from all the copies could be similarly arranged.

The first issue is the simpler one. There is not nearly enough material in 1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q555, or 5Q15 to offer any conclusions about the order of the material in each copy. There was some initial hope that the 11Q18 fragments, which originally derived from a partially

petrified scroll, could be arranged in some kind of order. Despite a 1992 publication in which GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ attempted to arrange these fragments in columns, in their 1998 DJD edition GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and E.J.C. TIGCHELAAR abandoned any attempt to arrange all the fragments in their original order.¹⁹¹ With respect to 4Q554, we are fortunate to possess two fragments, 4Q554 1 and 4Q554 2, each preserving portions of three columns of text. Although 4Q554a is represented by only one fragment, on the basis of its overlaps with 5Q15 1 i-ii and 4Q554 iii, a comparatively long section of text whose order is known may be reconstructed, despite the presence of several major lacunae.¹⁹² The difficulty is determining the sequential relationship between the overlapping section 4Q554 1 i-iii + 4Q554a and the fragment 4Q554 2 i-iii. From the perspective of the material evidence, although both 4Q554 1 and 4Q554 2 preserve the bottom portions of columns of text, there appears to be no similar patterns of damage that might be employed to help situate these fragments in relation to each other. As for the extent to which the content of 4Q554 1 and 4Q554 2 may be employed to determine their place in the text respective to each other, this is a subject that will be addressed below.

With respect to the question as to the extent to which the text from all the copies of the *NJ* could be arranged in order, in 1962, early in the history of the scholarship on the *NJ*, J.T. MILIK argued that “col. i du grand morceau de 4Q ... est probablement la première colonne du manuscrit.”¹⁹³ His understanding was that the direction of the tour of the New

¹⁹¹ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII, 305-355, esp. 307-308; GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “More Fragments.” See the Introduction, § 3, d, for more details.

¹⁹² See Chapter 1, *passim*, for details.

¹⁹³ MILIK, DJD III, 185.

Jerusalem described in the various fragments was from the “outside in,” that is, from the city walls to the Temple and its interior features. This “outside in” hypothesis has proven to be the majority view among scholars.¹⁹⁴ It implies that the description of the city walls and named gates in 4Q554 1 i-ii either represents the beginning or is very close to the beginning of the *NJ* and that the portrayal of the Temple and its operation are situated more towards the end of the text. For example, É. PUECH has concluded that “le manuscrit 4QNJa^a [= 4Q554] semble avoir préservé des restes de la première colonne, et une reconstruction du texte à l’aide de 5Q15 et de 4QNJ^{a-b} [= 4Q554-555] permet de retrouver une bonne partie des quatre premières colonnes de cette oeuvre.”¹⁹⁵ More recently, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and TIGCHELAAR have suggested that, regarding the partially petrified scroll that was the source of the 11Q18 fragments, “it appears impossible to fit the text of the copies from caves 4 and 5 in the interior of the scroll.”¹⁹⁶ At the same time, they note that the direction of the tour through the Temple in the 11Q18 fragments, as they have arranged them, is probably from the outside in,¹⁹⁷ which implies that the scroll had been rolled in such a way that the beginning of the *NJ* would have appeared on the (now lost) exterior columns of the scroll. As a result, there exists material evidence, if their broad arrangement of the fragments is

¹⁹⁴ See, *inter alia*, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” (trans. A.E. ALVAREZ) *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (edd. L.H. SCHIFFMAN and J.C VANDERKAM. Oxford, 2000), 927-933 and all his earlier publications; FREY, “Contexts,” 805.

¹⁹⁵ PUECH, “JN,” 89.

¹⁹⁶ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII, 309.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* It must be noted, though, that there is a distinct lack of specific reference points to known or expected architectural phenomena of the Temple in the 11Q18 fragments. To support their “outside in” hypothesis, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR can offer only two reference points that indicate that this was the direction of the tour: the wall of the inner court at 11Q18 6 (about which they are uncertain) and the “throne” at 11Q18 31 ii 2 and 11Q18 32 1 (DJD XXIII, 308).

correct, to suggest that the tour indeed proceeded from the outside in and that the description of the new city, at least as it appears in the overlapping section 4Q554 1 i-iii + 4Q554a (parr. 2Q24 1 and 5Q15 1 i-ii), preceded the portrayal of the New Temple and its operation.

Some scholars, however, have attempted to arrange the majority of the fragments of the *NJ* copies in a more precise order. In his 1990 volume on the *Temple Scroll*, WISE proposed that the extant fragments of the *NJ* could be arranged “in an order approximately as they would have been in the intact work.”¹⁹⁸ Unfortunately, WISE’S effort was hampered by the fact that much of the 4Q and 11Q material had yet to be published.¹⁹⁹ As a result, his arrangement seems grossly out of step with what we now know to be the nature and full extent of the extant fragments.²⁰⁰ Two years later, in their 1992 collection of several dozen Dead Sea texts,²⁰¹ M.O. WISE and R. EISENMAN actually numbered the 4Q*NJ* columns in order, starting from their columns 2-4 (what we now call 4Q554 1 i-iii) and progressing through their column 5 (our 4Q554a) to their columns 9-11 “or later” (our 4Q554 2 i-iii). Note that they label what we call 4Q554 1 i as their “column 2,” although their reasons for considering this column to be the second column of the *NJ* rather than the first (*pace* MILIK)

¹⁹⁸ WISE, *Temple Scroll*, 66.

¹⁹⁹ In fact, the reconstruction of the text and the labeling of the fragments were published before the 4Q text was available to any extent beyond that which was provided by MILIK and BAILLET in DJD III and STARCKY in “Jérusalem.”

²⁰⁰ It is fruitless to criticize in detail WISE’S order, since it is obviously based on an incomplete knowledge of the fragments and some very confusing terminology (*e.g.*, he speaks of “4Q col. iv-v/5Q15 ii-iii,” which are *sigla* that are very difficult to reconcile with the textual evidence, even the evidence that was available at the time when WISE’S book was published). One has the impression that WISE had a reconstruction of the Cave 4 text in mind when he offered his reconstruction of the order of the *NJ*, but he does not share this reconstruction with the reader.

²⁰¹ EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*.

are not made explicit. It might be that EISENMAN and WISE understand the fragment 4Q554 3 (= J 5, 30) to come from a portion of a column previous to 4Q554 1 i, which is an issue that has already been addressed in the presentation of 4Q554 3 (= J 5, 30) in Chapter 1. Also not made explicit is their reason for considering why the fragment now known as 4Q554 2 i-iii should be part of columns that are numbered 9-11 “or later.” They do, however, argue that the eschatological section contained in 4Q554 2 iii should be situated at the end of the *NJ*.²⁰²

Most editions, anthologies, and translations of the *NJ* as a whole — rather than editions of a specific copy, such as we find in the DJD volumes — tend to arrange the copies of the text by their official *sigla*, *i.e.*, beginning with 1Q32 and ending with 11Q18.²⁰³ There are some notable exceptions, however, where the *NJ* is arranged in an order of sorts. For example, as noted in the Introduction, K. BEYER attempts to situate the *NJ* fragments in a broad framework based on the “outside in” understanding of the direction of the tour of the city.²⁰⁴ As a result, and in harmony with the opinions of the majority of scholars, the portions of text dealing with the city wall and the residential structures therein precede those parts of the text describing the Temple complex and its operation. It should not be forgotten, however, that despite its seeming thoroughness, BEYER’S organization is based more on a

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 40. Note that in his most recent publication on the subject (WISE, “New Jerusalem Texts” 744), WISE does not stress his earlier theories, and (in the only place he discusses the issue) merely notes that if CHYUTIN is correct the tour moves from the inside out.

²⁰³ See FITZMYER/HARRINGTON, *MPAT*; GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TICHELAAAR, *DSSSE*; GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (trans. W.G.E. WATSON; Leiden/New York/Cologne, ²1996), 129-135; MAIER, *TTMNJ*; G. VERMES, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York, ⁴1997), 568-570.

²⁰⁴ BEYER, *ATTM*. See the Introduction, note 25 for a brief introduction to the relationship between the fragments of the *NJ* and BEYER’S idiosyncratic “J” siglum.

general arrangement of fragments into broad topics (under the rubrics of his “J” subsections) and is not meant as a *comprehensive* reconstruction and positioning of every fragment.²⁰⁵

Far more comprehensive is the recent translation of E.M. COOK,²⁰⁶ where the text of the *NJ* is arranged in a fashion corresponding roughly to the “outside in” hypothesis. He begins with what he calls “4Q554 Frag. 1 Col. 1,” which is followed by what he labels “Col. 2”; “Col. 3 (= 5Q15 Frag. 1 Col. 1 ll. 7-15);”²⁰⁷ “4Q555”;²⁰⁸ “5Q15 Col. 2”;²⁰⁹ “4Q554 Frag. 2 Col. 2”; “11Q18 Frag. 21”; 2Q24 Frag. 4 (+ 11Q18 Frag. 13); and finally ends with his “4Q554 Col. 3.” Only two of the 11Q18 fragments are included in this translation, but it is clear that COOK assumes, in step with the prevailing scholarly opinion on the matter, that the Temple material follows the description of the city and its structures. COOK follows TIGCHELAAR’S suggestion that 4Q554 2 iii is joined improperly to 4Q554 2 i-ii, and so stands at the end of the *NJ*, separate from the “further description of the city towers” at 4Q554 2 ii. Note also that this “further description” is situated in the middle of the *NJ*, in effect separating the description of the city walls, gates, and interior structures from the

²⁰⁵ This is most evident in his sections J 5, J 6, and J 7, which are simply groups of fragments collected under a single subject heading.

²⁰⁶ COOK, “Vision.”

²⁰⁷ COOK’S term “Col. 3 (= 5Q15 Frag. 1 Col. 1 ll. 7-15)” implies that the text included under this title is entirely from one 4Q554 “column”; it is not, however, and the portion of the column in question, 4Q554 1 iii, is in reality missing its first dozen or so lines, a fact that is not reflected in COOK’S translation.

²⁰⁸ What is meant by “4Q555” is unclear; it is entirely possible, however, given that the full range of the 4Q555 fragments have yet to be presented in even preliminary form, that COOK is aware of 4Q555 fragments of which we are not. See our presentation of the 4Q555 fragments in Chapter 1.

²⁰⁹ COOK’S term “5Q15 Col. 2” is slightly misleading, since its text (what MILIK, DJD III, identifies as 5Q15 1 ii) actually begins well earlier, near the end of his “Col. 3.” But this is a minor quibble.

depiction of the Temple and its operation.

It is in M. CHYUTIN'S complex reconstruction that we find the most ambitious attempt to arrange in a running text the *NJ* copies.²¹⁰ The core of this attempt is his assertion that the number twenty-two is central both to the dimensions of the structures of the city and to the manner in which the scribe crafted the lines and columns of the *NJ* and (especially) of 4Q554 and 4Q554a.²¹¹ The end result, CHYUTIN claims, was a scroll that was deliberately crafted to have twenty-two columns of precisely twenty-two lines each; into this rigid framework he forces the text from all the copies of the *NJ*. Moreover, he understands the text to proceed as if the tour of the city proceeds from the inside out. Accordingly, he arranges his columns to reflect this direction, beginning with the Temple material of 11Q18 and 2Q24 4 and ending with the eschatological section of 4Q554 2 iii.²¹² Although he nowhere states

²¹⁰ CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*.

²¹¹ He never explicitly states that the 4Q copies are closest to his ideal of a scroll that had twenty-two columns of twenty-two lines each, but it is clear that whenever there is overlapping 4Q and 5Q text (see next note for details), the twenty-two lines of the 4Q text form the template onto which the 5Q text is positioned. But even in this CHYUTIN is inconsistent.

²¹² See his *NJ Scroll*, *passim*. The major fragments are: CHYUTIN'S Column 3: 11Q18 14 ii, 11Q18 31 i; Column 4: 11Q18 19, 11Q18 23 i, 11Q18 31 ii, 11Q18 32; Column 5: 11Q18 15, 11Q18 17 i, 11Q18 23 ii; Column 6: 2Q24 3, 2Q24 7, 2Q24 8, 11Q18 17 ii; Column 7: 4Q554 4 (= J 5, 40), 11Q18 10 i, 11Q18 11; Column 8: 2Q24 5-6, 11Q18 9, 11Q18 10 ii, 11Q18 21; Column 9: 11Q18 13, 11Q18 29; Column 10: 2Q24 4, 11Q18 22; Column 11: 2Q24 4, 4Q555 2, 4Q555 3, 11Q18 16 i, 11Q18 20; Column 12: 11Q18 16 ii, 11Q18 26, 11Q18 27, 11Q18 30; Column 13: 11Q18 24, 11Q18 25, 11Q18 28; Column 14: 4Q554 5 (= J 5, 50), 11Q18 12 i, 11Q18 18; Column 15: 4Q554 1 i, 4Q554 3 (= J 5, 30), 11Q18 12 ii; Column 16: 2Q24 1, 4Q554 1 ii, 5Q15 1 i; Column 17: 4Q554 1 iii, 5Q15 1 i-ii; Column 18: 4Q554a, 5Q15 1 ii; Column 20: 4Q554 2 i, 5Q15 2; Column 21: 4Q554 2 ii and sundry fragments; and Column 22: 4Q554 2 iii, 4Q554 6 (= J 4, 51-54). There is no Column 1, 2, or 19 in his reconstruction.

The 1Q32 fragments are scattered throughout CHYUTIN'S reconstruction, most notably in the bottom half of his Column 7, where they are joined to form (in CHYUTIN'S opinion) a description of certain aspects of the Temple and its operation. On our assessment of this reconstruction, see Chapter 3, notes 46, 48, and 49, and the text to which these notes refer.

this, CHYUTIN in effect constructs a hypothetical Urtext²¹³ that no longer survives in its original form, but from which all extant copies derive.²¹⁴

CHYUTIN'S claims are untenable. To begin, nowhere near enough of the full text of the *NJ* has been preserved to make any concrete conclusions about its total length and thus, by extension, the number of columns it encompassed. Second, if numerical symbolism indeed plays this critical role in the *NJ*, so that an aspect of it is reflected in the actual physical characteristics of the original scroll, why is this rigid insistence on twenty-two columns of twenty-two lines each not common to all the extant copies of the *NJ*? To illustrate, it is very probable, *apud* MILIK'S reconstruction in DJD III, that 5Q15 1 i had nineteen lines,²¹⁵ and in several places CHYUTIN'S own reconstruction requires that the copies other than 4Q554 have variant numbers of lines and columns.²¹⁶ In fact, his own presentation of 4Q554 1 ii is arranged so that it is materially impossible for its text to be contained within twenty-two lines. Moreover, even if CHYUTIN'S intention was to present

²¹³ FREY, "Contexts," 802 n. 6: "In fact however, [CHYUTIN] integrates all known manuscripts into a single entity without discussing the material aspects of the different manuscripts and the problems of locating the single fragments, so that the result is actually a new text, not an edition or reconstruction of the different manuscripts." But one should not be surprised that CHYUTIN does this, since he makes his goal plain: "In the course of the editing I have collated various versions of the scroll fragments with the aim of arriving at a uniform and complete version" (*NJ Scroll*, 10). Although this "version" is never explicitly labeled the text from which the other copies derive, the way that CHYUTIN reconstructs the text and positions the fragments must mean that his version operates as an Urtext.

²¹⁴ Such a phenomenon is not unheard of. See, e.g., K. LACHMANN'S demonstration that the chief extant manuscripts of Lucretius derive from a single, lost archetype that contained 302 pages of twenty-six lines per page (reported by B.M. METZGER, *The Text of the New Testament. Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (Oxford, 1968), 124).

²¹⁵ "De plus, la longueur d'une colonne du manuscrit de 4Q n'est pas en faveur d'une colonne de 5Q15 qui dépasserait 19 lignes, autrement dit, qui exigerait l'addition d'une ou plusieurs lignes entre i 14 et 15." Note also that, as reconstructed, portions of both the top and bottom margins of 5Q15 1 i are preserved.

²¹⁶ See Chapter 1, re his reconstruction of 4Q554 1 ii 22, 4Q554a 1-3, 4Q555 2 and 3, etc.

a lost Urtext from which all subsequent copies derived, an autograph that alone possessed this rigid, all-important structure of twenty-two columns of twenty-two lines each, he simply fails to describe the reasons why later copies of this document did not adhere to this structure. Third, from a textual point of view, so many of CHYUTIN'S joins and/or positioning of the fragments are suspect that we seriously doubt that the contents of several of these fragments actually appeared in the order in the text that he envisions.²¹⁷ Fourth, as noted in the Introduction, the many small 1Q32 fragments have yet to be plausibly arranged in some sort of order, while GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and TIGCHELAAR have determined that the shape of the 11Q18 fragments and a calculation of the column widths of their text do not permit the reconstruction of the scroll or a more plausible rearrangement of the order in which they are presented in the PAM photographs.²¹⁸ While it is possible that CHYUTIN has discovered a fruitful process of arranging the 1Q32 and 11Q18 fragments, he does not share the means by which he arrived at this conclusion with his readers. As a result, one is forced to conclude that his arrangement of the majority of these 1Q32 and 11Q18 fragments is grounded solely on his reconstruction of the rituals and festivals of the new city.²¹⁹ Moreover, several of his interpretations and reconstructions involving this 1Q and 11Q material are highly suspect.²²⁰

There is no good reason to question the majority view that, generally speaking, the description of the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* moved from the outside in, and therefore the

²¹⁷ See Chapter 1, *passim*.

²¹⁸ DJD XXIII, 307.

²¹⁹ See also the cutting criticism of CHYUTIN'S reconstruction of these rituals and festivals in the reviews of his book by E.J.C. TIGCHELAAR (*RevQ* 18 (1998), 453-457) and L.T. STUCKENBRUCK (*JTS* 50 (1999), 658-664).

²²⁰ For details, see Chapter 3, §3, 2, b.

parts of the text concerned with the walls and gates of the city ought to be situated before those parts that deal with the Temple complex. If, as noted, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and TIGCHELAAR are correct in their arrangement of the 11Q18 fragments and their interpretation of the relationship between the fragments and the scroll from which they derived, there is also material evidence to support the “outside in” hypothesis. The major internal clue as to the direction of the tour in the *NJ* is the long, fragmentary section that extends from 4Q554 1 i-iii to 4Q554a and that includes the partial overlaps with 5Q15 1 i-ii and 2Q24 1. If one imagines this section as it can be reconstructed from the fragments, one will observe that it begins with the description of the city wall and its twelve named gates and then proceeds to discuss aspects of the residential area of the city, including particular details about the streets and the houses. The description of the city over this long section clearly moves from the outside in; this observation means that it is quite possible that the material concerning the Temple would have followed this presentation of the residential area of the New Jerusalem. We hesitate, however, in concurring too quickly with PUECH in his assertion that this section 4Q554 1 i-iii + 4Q554a (with overlaps) represents the very first four columns of the text, and would rather simply state that this section very likely comes from a portion of the text near the beginning of the *NJ*.

Part of our hesitation stems from the fact that the “outside in” hypothesis is not without its difficulties, the most troubling of which concerns the material in 4Q554 2. For example, the presence of another description of the external aspects of the city in 4Q554 2 i-ii is very odd, given that the walls and gates were already the topic of the first two columns of 4Q554 1. Moreover, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, 4Q554 2 column iii contains the

so-called “eschatological” portion of the *NJ* — with reference to kingdoms and nations and end-time events — and so is critical to an appreciation of the eschatological character of the entire text.²²¹ The question, therefore, is where to situate 4Q554 2 with respect to the rest of the text — before 4Q554 1, after 4Q554 1 but before the Temple material, or after both 4Q554 1 and the Temple material.

- If 4Q554 2 represents the first three columns of the *NJ*, the text would begin with a description of the external appearance of the city in its glory (4Q554 2 i-ii), the city being the focus of the expected end-time reversal of fortune of 4Q554 2 iii. In addition, if 4Q554 2 represented the start of the *NJ*, this would mean that the eschatological material of 4Q554 2 iii would precede the entire tour of the city and the Temple. Situating 4Q554 2 at the start of the *NJ* would be out of step with the prevailing scholarly opinion, which, as noted, prefers to see 4Q554 1 as the beginning of the text. One advantage of understanding 4Q554 2 in the initial position is that it would allow the tour to progress unbroken, from the description of the city walls and the named gates in 4Q554 1 i-ii to the portrayal of the inner portions of the New Temple at 11Q18 31 ii and 32. The disadvantage with this arrangement is the difficulty it poses in envisioning why the focus shifts from a description of the city to the city’s place and function in the end-time, and then returns again to an even more detailed description of the city and Temple.

- It could be, *pace* COOK, that 4Q554 2 is from a part of the text following the description of the city at 4Q554 1 i-iii + 4Q554a (and parr.) but preceding the depiction of the New Temple and its operation. 4Q554 2 i and ii would thus serve as a repeat description

²²¹ On the subject of the unity of 4Q554 2 i-iii, see the presentation of 4Q554 2 iii in Chapter 1.

of the gross details of the city, itself an overture to the eschatological section of 4Q554 2 iii. But such an arrangement would introduce a seemingly disjunctive element, in that the eschatological section of column iii of the fragment would follow the portrayal of the New Jerusalem but precede the description of the New Temple and its operation. COOK'S suggestion, as outlined above, is to separate 4Q554 2 columns i-ii from column iii, but we understand these pieces to be properly joined.²²²

- 4Q554 2 could be part of the very end of the *NJ*, that is, the portion of the text following the description of the city and Temple. From the perspective of the continuity of the tour of the city and Temple, this placement of 4Q554 2 would allow the tour to progress unbroken from the depiction of the walls of the city to description of the inner portions of the Temple.

One wishes that more of the *NJ* had been preserved. As it stands now, there seem to be no ready solutions to the difficulty of the position of 4Q554 2, the matter of the order of the 11Q fragments, and, most importantly, the question of the overall order of the *NJ* material beyond what may result from an application of a general “outside in” hermeneutic.

b. Common Forms of the Topos

The question remains whether the order of the presentation of the material in the other “monumental” expressions of the New Jerusalem topos can help solve the issue of the order of the material in the *NJ*. Unfortunately, there appears to be no set sequence or fixed order in these other expressions, nor does there appear to be a set direction for the “tour” of

²²² See the discussion in the presentation of 4Q554 2 iii (+ 4Q554 7) in Chapter 1.

the city in the expressions of the New Jerusalem. To be sure, it seems clear that the direction of the tour in the *NJ* is from the “outside in,” and while very little attention is devoted to the internal structures of the New Jerusalem of Revelation 21-22, the description of the city is basically from the outside in as well. In both Ezekiel 40-48 and the *Temple Scroll*, however, the tour is clearly from the “inside out.”²²³

Most importantly, the same elements are not all found in every monumental expression of the topos, and even those that do appear are not found in the same sequence. For example, in the *Temple Scroll* one encounters a description of the Temple complex and the surrounding area from the inside out, punctuated by the “Festival Calendar” of 11Q19 xiii-xxx, the eschatological section of 11Q19 xxix, the “Purity Regulations” of 11Q19 xlvi-li, and so on.²²⁴ The same is true for Ezekiel, where in chapter 40-48 the account of the temple operation largely precedes the description of the city and land, and where (in the final redaction of the book) the eschatological battle must be sought before anything else, at Ezekiel 38-39. Moreover, as will be described in Chapter 3,²²⁵ D. DIMANT argues that the

²²³ Ezekiel 40-48 falls naturally into three parts: an elaborate description of the New Temple (40:1-42:20), a complex section which W. ZIMMERLI (*Ezechiel* (BK 15.1-2; Neukirchen-Vluyn, ²1979 [= *Ezekiel*. Hermeneia. Philadelphia, 1983]) terms the “entry of YHWH into his sanctuary and new ordinances for prince, priests, and people” (43:1-46:24), and a detailed account of the larger aspects of the New Jerusalem, including the river that issues from the Temple, the dispensation of the land in the eschatological age, and the dimensions and name of the city (47:1-48:35). As for the *Temple Scroll*, the Temple and its vessels are the subject of 11Q19 iii-xiii, while columns xxx-xlv outline the dimensions of the walls and other structures of the inner, middle, and outer courts respectively.

²²⁴ Our terminology to describe the various parts is borrowed from the description of the *Temple Scroll* in S.W. CRAWFORD, *The Temple Scroll and Related Texts* (Sheffield, 2000). It is recognized that the *Temple Scroll* as it is known from 11Q19 is very likely composed of older sources and in its present form probably represents the end result of a process of redaction. In addition, not only is 11Q19 incompletely preserved, but the other copies of the *Temple Scroll* preserve material not extant or in a different form than what we find in 11Q19.

²²⁵ §5, d.

Pseudo-Ezekiel text from Qumran, which expands and reworks a number of sections from the biblical Ezekiel, does not follow the order of material as it appears in Ezekiel. This is a critical observation, for it establishes that a text that is based on the biblical Ezekiel, as is, to some extent, the *NJ*, need not follow the order of the presentation of its material. In other words, even if we could establish that Ezekiel 40-48 was responsible for a set order that reappeared in later “monumental” articulations of the New Jerusalem (and we cannot do even this), there is nothing to say that the *NJ* would also have to reflect this order.

In conclusion, content, it appears, follows from context: the way in which the New Jerusalem or New Temple is described very much depends on the purposes of the author or redactor of the text of which it is a part. This mutability of the topos involves the choosing, arranging, and reworking the various elements with respect to details both particular (*e.g.*, describing the interior design features of the city) and general (*e.g.*, whether or not the expression will be monumental). What this means is that the study of the New Jerusalem topos cannot shed light on the issue of the order of the presentation of the material in the *NJ*.

6. The NJ in the Context of Ancient Urban Architecture and Design

Because so much of the *NJ*, including almost all the 4Q and 5Q copies, is devoted to a detailed city plan of the New Jerusalem, various theories have been offered concerning the points of contact between the city plan of the *NJ* and the urban architectural and design components of the cities of other ancient cultures. For instance, the so-called “Hippodamian” orthogonal city familiar to students of Greek and Hellenistic urban design is most often cited as the antecedent of the sort of ideal city described by the *NJ*. At the same time, other

scholars point to the architecture of archaic Egypt or to the regular features of the *castris* of the Roman legions as providing the best parallel to the structural and design elements of the *NJ*.²²⁶ These theories are also important to the study of the *NJ* because of the ways that these examples of urban planning from other ancient cultures might shed light on certain architectural aspects of the *NJ*.

In our opinion, however, there is a great gulf between the matter of the identification of these points of contact with classical architectural theories and the question of the extent to which they may be used as a means of establishing the date and/or the provenance of the *NJ*. While it is readily recognized that there are a few basic similarities between the city plan of the *NJ* and the urban architectural and design components of certain other cultures, there is no evidence to suggest that the city plan of the *NJ* was conceived in the light of classical architectural canons; for this reason it cannot be dated confidently by means of such comparisons. Indeed, it is our contention that the “monumental” type of New Jerusalem, a type whose characteristics we identified and described in detail in an earlier section in this chapter and which is exemplified by Ezekiel 40-48 (which surely antedates the *NJ*), is the architectural antecedent that probably had the greatest influence on the way that the city of the *NJ* was conceived.

CHYUTIN, who has done by far the most extensive work on the subject of the

²²⁶ Points of architectural and design contact (among many other things) between the *NJ*, the *Temple Scroll*, and the *Reworked Pentateuch* are addressed in Chapter 3, §2, where the focus is more on the *NJ* and its relationship to other Dead Sea texts and to the Qumran community.

architecture and the design features of the *NJ*,²²⁷ advances the theory that the principal antecedent of the city plan of the *NJ* should be sought not in the Hellenistic and Roman milieux, as most scholars have thought, but rather in Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom Egypt of the second millennium BCE.²²⁸ His argument is founded partly on similarities in architectural design that he perceives to exist between Egyptian structures and those described in the *NJ*, and partly on his conclusions regarding the Egyptian origins of certain number symbolisms apparent in the *NJ* and of certain units of distance measurement used by its author.²²⁹ CHYUTIN concludes that:

It is almost certain that at the time the [*NJ*] Scroll was composed, Alexandria, a Greek Hippodamic city, was a flourishing and familiar city. The Roman *castrum*, too, was well known in every place where a Roman legion was encamped. It is probable that the author of the Scroll wished to create an archaic mode of description of the city, and to return to an ancient tradition of city planning. The New Jerusalem appears like a city planned

²²⁷ Other scholars either cite without comment CHYUTIN'S conclusions on the subject of number mysticism (GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "Temple Scroll," 456-457; CRAWFORD, *Temple Scroll*, 75) or pronounce themselves unqualified to evaluate them; cf. TIGCHELAAR, "I must confess that I am not able to assess all Chyutin's statements on measurements, number mysticisms and architecture which fill the second part of his study" (Review of CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, *RevQ* 18 (1998), 453-457 at 457). We confess, too, that we are not familiar enough with subjects of ancient metrology, mystical numerology, and architectural design based on the proportions of the human body to evaluate CHYUTIN'S claims in this area.

Of course, the idea that symbolic numbers played a role in the design of the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* need not discount the possibility that other urban models may also have had an influence, and there is no question that the dimensions or design features of certain structures had symbolic value (cf. the twelve gates of the city wall). Besides CHUYTIN, the idea of symbolic numbers in the *NJ* is most associated with WISE'S arguments about the use of the number seven in the *NJ* (on which, see Chapter 2, §2, b).

²²⁸ CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, 113-118, 126-127.

²²⁹ CHYUTIN claims that the stadion (or *ris*) that appears so prominently as a unit of long-distance measurement in the *NJ* was originally an Egyptian unit (*NJ Scroll*, 74-75), and that the number symbolism that he believes the *NJ* exhibits throughout is also heavily indebted to Egyptian mathematical computations (133-141, *passim*).

during the period of the First Temple, the times of King David and Solomon, when the Egyptian influence on the material culture in the land of Israel was strong.²³⁰

CHYUTIN'S theory is unsound on several levels. First, it seems extremely unlikely that a Jewish author of Hellenistic or Roman times would have been familiar enough with fifteen-hundred-year-old design components from archaic Egypt to copy them consciously in his own designs. Strangely, the Egyptian antecedents that CHYUTIN cites are not even products of the end of the second millennium BCE, the period of David and Solomon, in which this "Egyptian influence" supposedly was at its height in Israel.²³¹ Instead, they date from much earlier periods, from the time of Sisostris II²³² (c. nineteenth century BCE) and of Akhenaton (ruled c. 1379-1362 BCE). Second, CHYUTIN does not explain why an author who wished to resurrect an "archaic mode" of describing the city should write his text in Aramaic, the *lingua franca* of the period in which these foreign modes of city planning were ascendent, and not in Hebrew, the language of the texts in which David and Solomon figure so prominently. Third, the one obvious characteristic of the city plan of the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* is its orthogonal layout, not (as CHYUTIN posits) its reflection of certain design ratios of the archaic Egyptian architectural canons. It seems likely that if the *NJ* was meant to be a reaction against Graeco-Roman culture and influence, it would not describe a city such as the orthogonal city of Alexandria, the quintessential architectural expression of

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 126-127.

²³¹ There is another anomaly here as well: these design influences were at their greatest at the time of David and Solomon but are not reflected in the plan of the Solomonic Temple.

²³² Also known as Sesostris II or Senusret II.

Hellenism in the East.²³³ In sum, then, it appears extremely unlikely that CHYUTIN is correct in his view that the *NJ* represents a deliberate attempt to resurrect these archaic Egyptian design features.

As has been noted, however, the architectural type most cited as directly influencing the city plan of the *NJ* is not a product of the age of the Pharaohs, but rather is the so-called “Hippodamian” orthogonal city. In a 1977 article in the magazine-format *La monde de la Bible*, J. STARCKY first identified a possible connexion between the city plan of the *NJ* and this Hippodamian ideal:²³⁴

²³³ To hold (pace CHYUTIN) that the deliberate harkening back to Egyptian design components was a reaction against the Roman *castrum* (which seems to be CHYUTIN’s implication) is questionable in that it assumes that the *NJ* was composed in a period in which the layout of the *castrum* would have been sufficiently well known (the *castrum* predated Polybius, who describes it in his *Histories* (6.27-32). We cannot know, of course, if *castrum* were described in earlier works, now lost, but if we are to assume that Polybius was the first, the earliest possible date of his description’s passing into common knowledge could not be before 140-130 BCE, that is, a decade or two after the publication of his *Histories*). While this may be the case after Pompey’s eastern adventures of 67-63 BCE, we would argue that the Roman predilection for avoiding direct contact with Asia and Egypt until the middle decades of the first century BCE would have minimized the opportunities in the second century BCE for locals to have had intimate knowledge of its plan. On the essentially *ad hoc* nature of Republican foreign policy in the East, especially in the second century BCE, see E.S. GRUEN, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (Berkeley, 1986). A more recent work on the subject is R.M. KALLET-MARX’S *Hegemony to Empire. The Development of the Roman Imperium in the East from 148 to 62 B.C.* (Berkeley, 2000), who concludes that after 148 (*i.e.*, after the destruction of Carthage and Corinth), “the long, intermittent clash with Mithridates of Pontus [was] the decisive event for the consolidation of a concrete and intrusive Roman empire in the Hellenistic East” (7).

It is also more likely that the distinctive design elements of the *castrum* became known not through their appearance in these military camps of the Roman legions, but rather through the aforementioned Roman colony towns, which took their design from the *castrum*. The point is that since extensive Roman colonization outside Italy was unknown until the very late Republic (A.N. SHERWIN-WHITE, “Colonization, Roman,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (edd. N.G.L. HAMMOND and H.H. SCULLARD; Oxford, 1970), 265-266 at 266), knowledge of the colony towns and their design also would have been comparatively unknown until that time. As a result, even the latest possible date for the composition of the *NJ* (*i.e.*, the Herodian date attributed to the extant copies by palaeographic analysis) might be too early for its author to have known Roman town planning sufficiently well as to be inclined to consciously ignore it. Moreover, and most tellingly, the second-century BCE date of composition of the *NJ* that is advanced by this dissertation completely rules out the possibility that the Roman *castrum* might have had any influence on the design of the *NJ*.

²³⁴ STARCKY, “Jérusalem.” The quotation following is from page 40. This is the article in which he presents the first published photograph of a 4QNJ fragment (see the Introduction, §3, c).

Elle [la JN] est plus utopique que celle d’Ezéchiel, mais dans sa conception elle rappelle de près le plan en réseau inauguré au Pirée par Hippodamos de Milet après la défaite des Perses. Ils avaient aussi détruit Milet en 494, et reconstruite suivant les mêmes principes géométriques, inspirés de Pythagore, elle devint le modèle des villes endamier qui, à l’époque hellénistique, surtout sous l’influence des Séleucides, se multiplièrent en Orient.

Although one should not assume that Hippodamus of Miletus was entirely responsible for all of the characteristics normally associated with the sort of city that bears his name, many scholars²³⁵ understand the general Hippodamian type²³⁶ to be the principal influence on the city plan of the *NJ*, an understanding that thereby also serves to function, with a greater or lesser degree of precision, as a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the text.

The argument of M. BROSHI,²³⁷ for example, provides an illustration of how this understanding, coupled with other architectural observations unrelated to the Hippodamian scheme, may be used to suggest a comparatively specific date for the composition of the *NJ*. BROSHI first identifies certain correlations between the Hippodamian ideal and the city plan of the *NJ* — the orthogonal pattern of the city’s layout, the hierarchical order of the streets (*i.e.*, smaller streets set in chequerboard patterns blocked off by larger avenues), and the standardization of the houses — and argues that Hippodamian-style cities were unknown in places east of Ionia until well after the conquests of Alexander the Great. He next observes

²³⁵ LICHT, “Ideal,” 48; GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “New Jerusalem”; *et al.*

²³⁶ If we recall our discussion in §2, a, above, about the *conceptual* distinction between “idealized” cities and “ideal” ones, the “Hippodamian” city is clearly an ideal city, in that its design incorporates no idealized elements, as we have defined the term.

²³⁷ BROSHI, “Architecture.”

that towers with spiral staircases, a design that he argues is mentioned in both the *NJ* (5Q15 1 ii 2-5 (par 4Q554 1 iii 20-21))²³⁸ and the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19 xxx 3 - xxxi 9, xlii 6-7), are characteristic of structures dating from the Hellenistic age and not before.²³⁹ BROSHI also mentions the possibility that the *NJ* might have contained a peristyle (קרבש) of the type that appear around the three courts of the *Temple Scroll*, but notes that this feature is uncertain at 5Q15 1 ii 4-5.²⁴⁰ The peristyle appears to be a design feature, though, of the blocks of houses that appear throughout the city of the *NJ*.²⁴¹ This is important because while freestanding colonnades are attested in pre-exilic times, complete peristyles are seemingly known only from the Hellenistic period onward.²⁴² BROSHI's conclusion is that the *NJ* could not possibly predate the Hellenistic period and was likely composed somewhere "close to 200 BCE."²⁴³

²³⁸ It is our contention that, in addition to being partially overlapped by 5Q15 1 ii, 4Q554 1 iii 21 is also partially overlapped by 4Q554a line 1, a copy of which BROSHI was not aware. For details, see Chapter 1, the Note on the Reading at 4Q554 line 1.

²³⁹ BROSHI, "Architecture," 19. A. NEGEV argues that these spiral-staircase towers are of Nabataean design ("The Staircase-Tower in Nabataean Architecture," *RB* (1973), 365-383), but BROSHI disagrees with this assessment. É. PUECH cautiously notes that "ne peut-on pas conclure trop vite à une origine dans la sphère nabatéenne" ("JN," 102).

²⁴⁰ So also FREY, "Contexts," 802.

²⁴¹ MILIK, *DJD* III, 188, describes it as "le 'passage couvert,' longeant les chambres latérales du Temple." This translation is disputed by J.C. GREENFIELD, who argues that the word should be translated as "open space" (review of *DJD* III, *JAOS* 89 (1969), 128-141 at 134). BROSHI concludes that "archaeologically, both interpretations are possible" ("Architecture," 13, note 23). We confess that we are not competent to evaluate this matter, especially with respect to GREENFIELD'S argument, which involves lexical comments on many ANE languages.

²⁴² BROSHI, "Architecture," 20. BROSHI notes also that in the Hellenistic period the peristyle became such an inseparable part of Temples and temple design that "the Septuagint translators imposed it, anachronistically, on Solomon's Temple." But the text that he cites in support of this argument is Ezek 40.17-18, which most certainly does not refer to Solomon's Temple. BROSHI also cites Josephus, *Ant.*, 8.96.

²⁴³ BROSHI, "Architecture," 21-22; see also PUECH, "JN," 102; FREY, "Contexts," 812.

There are serious problems with the argument that the details of the Hippodamian ideal city are reflected to a large degree in the city plan of the *NJ* and with the corresponding application of this argument in order to resolve the question of the date of the *NJ*. Although these issues are separate, the nature of the objections means that both issues will be addressed simultaneously.

First, the Hippodamian model does not exist as a design entity introduced at a specific point in time, divorced in concept from all previous ideas of town planning and paradigmatic for all subsequent ones.²⁴⁴ The concept of a orthogonal pattern of the streets and extra-wide avenues existed well before Hippodamus,²⁴⁵ and it is worth recalling that even if the concept of a planned city was introduced to the Eastern world by the Greeks, this still leaves a three-century-wide window of time for the composition of the *NJ* between the coming of Alexander (and the spread of Greek culture east of the Bosphorus and the Ionian cities) and the Herodian era in which the *NJ* was copied. In other words, if we keep in mind that this window of opportunity, so to speak, was open for nearly three centuries, to cite the Hippodamian model as an indication that the *NJ* was composed at a specific point of time within this window of opportunity is unwarranted.

Second, the correspondence between the Hippodamian ideal (in whatever form we are to understand it) and the city plan of the *NJ* is not exact on many points. For example, the archetypical planned Greek or Hellenistic city has the *agora* as its centre, the locus from

²⁴⁴ It was Aristotle (*Politics* 7.11.1330b) who attributed the gridiron city to Hippodamus.

²⁴⁵ R.E. WYCHERLY, "Towns. I. Greek and Hellenistic," *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (edd. N.G.L. HAMMOND and H.H. SCULLARD; Oxford, 1970), 1082. Note also J.E. STAMBAUGH, *The Ancient Roman City* (Baltimore/London, 1988), 244, who notes that the Romans borrowed the gridiron pattern from not only the Greeks but also the Etruscans.

which the main streets run through the city to exit at the main gates.²⁴⁶ This is not the case in the *NJ*, where the focus of the city, the Temple, stands not in the city centre, but to one side of the residential blocks, in a segregated area of its own (4Q554 1 ii 17, par. 5Q15 1 i 4).²⁴⁷ In certain sites in the Greek world the uniform houses are arranged in blocks of ten,²⁴⁸ which is quite different than the great housing blocks that we find in the *NJ*.²⁴⁹ Additionally, the perimeter walls of the orthogonal cities in Greek design were often irregular and rarely defined by a geometrical form, since they were basically determined by geography and the needs of the defense of the city.²⁵⁰ As was established in a previous section of this chapter, however, irregularly shaped city walls are more the hallmark of those idealized “restored” expressions of the New Jerusalem, which for a variety of reasons (not least of which was the tortuous terrain on which the historical city stood) had asymmetric walls. In contrast, the walls of the New Jerusalem or New Temple in the ideal “monumental” New Jerusalem texts, including the *NJ*, are always quadrilateral structures with right-angled corners and regularly spaced walls. Finally, in the Greek world temples generally faced west.²⁵¹ Temples in Jerusalem faced east, however, not west, and we witness this orientation also in the future

²⁴⁶ See, *inter alia*, CRAWFORD, *Temple Scroll*, 74-75.

²⁴⁷ The Temple is not the centre of the city in Ezekiel 40-48, either. There is no Temple in Revelation, nor any indication of a central locus to which main streets converge. As for the *Temple Scroll*, the cities are separate entities completely outside the Temple complex.

²⁴⁸ R.E. WYCHERLY, “Houses, Greek.” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (edd. N.G.L. HAMMOND and H.H. SCULLARD; Oxford, 1970), 531-532 at 531.

²⁴⁹ CHYUTIN (*NJ Scroll*, 126) also remarks that the Greek ideal city and the Roman *castrum* normally had blocks of houses that opened onto the street, not the closed enclosures detailed in the *QNJ*.

²⁵⁰ CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, 120-121.

²⁵¹ T. FYFE and R.E. WYCHERLY, “Temple,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (edd. N.G.L. HAMMOND and H.H. SCULLARD; Oxford, 1970), 1042-1043 at 1042.

temple of Ezekiel.²⁵² With reference to the arrangement of the named gates that are set around the wall of the outer court in the *Temple Scroll*, the Gate of Levi²⁵³ (11Q19 xl 15) occupies the all-important central gate on the eastern wall, and thus we have to presume that the Temple in this text faced east as well. In light of this evidence we assume that, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, the Temple in the *NJ* also faced east, unlike the Greek model.²⁵⁴

Third, the Hippodamian ideal need not be the only possible antecedent for the planned architecture of the *NJ*. The concept of a hierarchy of streets is found in the Aramaic Elephantine papyri,²⁵⁵ which date from a period too early to have been influenced by Hippodamian planning concepts. The idea of a gridiron arrangement to the streets and the presence of two major avenues that intersect in the middle of the town is also a feature of the *castrum*, the Roman military camp, from which grew the pattern for the Roman colony towns, with their characteristic two wide intersecting avenues, the *decumanus maximus* and

²⁵² W.F. STINESPRING, "Temple, Jerusalem," *IDB*, 4.534-560 at 539: "It is clear that Ezekiel's temple faced the E (8:16; 11:1; 43:1-4; 44:1-3), and there seems little reason to doubt that the Solomonic structure had a similar orientation, facing the sunrise."

²⁵³ The name of the corresponding gate at the centre position in the East wall of the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* is missing. See Chapter 1, in the introduction to the Notes on the Reading for 4Q554 1 i, for our explanation why we choose to reconstruct the name of "Levi" at this point.

²⁵⁴ The argument that the spiral staircase is a design feature that does not antedate the Hellenistic period is inconclusive and does not shed light on the issue of whether the Hippodamian city or the Ezekiel-style New Jerusalem — both of which predate the Hellenistic era — should be considered the principal antecedent of the city plan of the *NJ*. See also the discussion in Chapter 3, §2, b, on the topic of the staircases in the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*.

²⁵⁵ CHYUTIN, "Ideal City," 77.

the *cardo* (or *kardo*) *maximus*.²⁵⁶ The pertinent question, however, which is addressed above, is whether an appropriate historical situation may be envisioned whereby the concept of the *castrum* could have influenced the city plan of the *NJ*. Another, potentially more appropriate source that largely has been ignored by contemporary scholarship is Babylonian town planning, which through the archaeological and literary evidence — the latter albeit second-hand, through classical sources primarily — demonstrates a familiarity with orthogonal street planning, wide avenues, and enormous, regular city walls.²⁵⁷ Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, we should not overlook the possibility of parallel development in ancient urban design. Basic elements like the regular arrangement of streets and houses and the recognition of the benefits in certain contexts of the duplication of urban structures have been obvious to city planners ancient and modern,²⁵⁸ and it is quite possible that similar design problems in different cultures may precipitate similar architectural solutions independently.

In our opinion, there is nothing in the evidence to suggest that the Hippodamic model is the principal antecedent of the city plan of the *NJ*. While the Hippodamian ideal city probably was part of the general background of ideas about orthogonal cities upon which the

²⁵⁶ LICHT, “Ideal,” 48; GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” 456; U. SIM, *Das himmlische Jerusalem in Apk 21, 1-22, 5 im Kontext biblisch-jüdischer Tradition und antiken Städtebaus* (BAC 25; Trier, 1997), 65. The writings of the Augustan-era Roman architect Vitruvius reflect Hellenistic ideas of city planning rather than Roman ones.

²⁵⁷ D.H. MCQUEEN, “The New Jerusalem and Town Planning,” *Exp* 2 (1924), 220-226. The great size of the city of Nineveh in Jonah 3.3-4 might have been informed by memories of Babylonian town planning. On the possibility that Persian architectural design may have played a role in the post-Ezekiel “monumental” expressions of the New Jerusalem or the New Temple, note J. MAIER, who states that the *Temple Scroll* betrays “no Hellenistic or Greek technical terms, the only foreign words being of Persian origin” (“Temple,” *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (edd. L.H. SCHIFFMAN and J.C VANDERKAM. Oxford, 2000), 921-927 at 925).

²⁵⁸ Or at least before the development of the North American idea of the suburb, which tends towards limited-access lots and winding streets, both of which are functions of urban development directly related to the widespread use of the automobile.

author of the *NJ* drew, it is difficult to posit a linear relationship between the Hippodamian idea and the *NJ*. This being the case, the fact that the Hippodamic model was unknown outside the Greek-speaking world until the conquests of Alexander cannot shed much light on the question of the date of the composition of the *NJ*. Moreover, even if a linear relationship could be established, there is no way that one can affix a precise date — even in terms of centuries — when the Hippodamian ideal would have become known to the author of the *NJ*.

While the Hippodamian city and other ideal urban models likely functioned as indirect antecedents of the orthogonal city plan of the *NJ*, we must also consider that it is entirely possible that the “monumental” type of New Jerusalem might have had the most in the way of direct influence on the general concept of the city plan of the *NJ*. Of the several “monumental” expressions, we need only look to the articulation of the New Jerusalem in Ezekiel 40-48, a passage that surely antedates the *NJ*.²⁵⁹

In fact, the similarities in the general concept of the city plans of both Ezekiel 40-48 and the *NJ* are quite clear. For example, the regularly shaped city perimeter featured in the new city of the *NJ* could have as easily derived from the city plan of Ezekiel 40-48 as from

²⁵⁹ Revelation is, of course, too late, while not enough has been preserved of the sections in the *Reworked Pentateuch* that detail the architectural data to support any conclusions.

With respect to the *Temple Scroll*, a fair amount of scholarship has been devoted to the extent of the architectural and design parallels between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* and on the issue as to which text is dependent on the other or whether they both derive from a common source. These issues, which naturally also involve the question of the date of both texts, will be addressed in detail in Chapter 3, §2, b.

The subject of the present discussion, however, concerns the *general* concepts of urban planning that might have served as the antecedent for the sort of city blueprint that is found in the *NJ*. Because there is little agreement of the date of the composition of the *Temple Scroll* or of its constituent parts (see the most recent discussion on the subject in CRAWFORD, *Temple Scroll*), it cannot be certain that it (or they) antedates the *NJ*, and it is perhaps wise not to look to the *Temple Scroll* in this context.

In any case, the point is moot: in our opinion, Ezekiel 40-48 — which surely antedates both the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* — provides the best source of the antecedents of these *general* concepts of urban planning.

the Hippodamian city model. To be sure, the surviving evidence demonstrates quite plainly that the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* is rectangular-shaped rather than the square-shaped structures that are attested throughout the biblical and extra-biblical literature.²⁶⁰ But this particular bit of information must be taken in its proper context. For one thing, the Hippodamian city, too, is a square construct, and thus one cannot automatically assume that the rectangular New Jerusalem must have stemmed from this particular tradition of ideal cities. Also, the issue of the similarities in the general concept of the city plans of both Ezekiel and the *NJ* must be kept separate from the issue of the degree of correspondence regarding their specific elements, which — as was demonstrated in our discussion of the order in which these elements were presented in the various expressions of the New Jerusalem topos²⁶¹ — are far more subject to change. In other words, the fact that the new city is rectangular in the *NJ* speaks more to the alteration of the common tradition of regularly shaped end-time structures by its author than it does to the possibility that this author of the *NJ* relied on a completely different tradition of ideal city construction. Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that while the preserved sections of the *NJ* describe a rectangular-shaped city, they also refer to a Temple and its enclosure. But the portion of the text that detailed the exact spatial relationship between the Temple grounds and the urban area of the *NJ* has been lost.²⁶² What this means is that it is possible that the Temple grounds,

²⁶⁰ Cf. the square levitical towns of Num 35:4-5; the square New Jerusalem of Ezekiel (48:30-34); the three square courts of the New Temple of the Temple Scroll (11Q19 xxxvi 3-7, xxxviii 12-13, and xl 8); the square New Jerusalem of Revelation (21:16); and the square New Jerusalem of *Lamentations Rabbah* 1.2. On the topic of the square planning tradition, see, esp., CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, 87-88.

²⁶¹ See §5, above.

²⁶² That it would have existed seems likely, given the emphasis throughout the *NJ* for expressing the relationship of structures and streets to each other.

which must have stood to one side of the city, could have provided enough land area to make the entire city (*i.e.*, the urban area plus the Temple grounds) the shape of a square. In fact, this is precisely what CHUYTIN suggests, and while part of his argument is based on his desire to demonstrate the central position of the number “twenty-two” to every aspect of the *NJ*,²⁶³ he rightly argues that such a square city would be far more in step with the square-city tradition of the biblical and extra-biblical literature.

There are other points of contact between Ezekiel 40-48 and the *NJ* with respect to this general concept of their city plans. In both Ezekiel and the *NJ* (as noted) the Temple is not a freely accessible structure in the centre of the city (as the *agora* is in the Hippodamic town) but is situated in another place and is segregated by walls and courts. This segregation is seen also in the *Temple Scroll*, not only in its three walled courts but also in the separation between the Temple complex and the cities that exist outside it. In addition, while Ezekiel 40-48 does not specifically describe the streets and avenues of the city, the square walls and evenly spaced gates suggest an internal gridiron design. From our perspective, it would have been quite natural for the author of the *NJ* to have studied the design features of the New Jerusalem in Ezekiel 40-48 (the square walls, the evenly spaced gates, the penchant for regularly shaped design features)²⁶⁴ and to have concluded that its streets would have run at

²⁶³ For an evaluation of CHUYTIN’S theory that the number “twenty-two” played a central role in the measurements of the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* and, indeed, in the way that the words of the text was written and copied on the ancient scrolls, see Chapter 1, *passim*, and this chapter, §5, a.

²⁶⁴ S. FUJITA notes that much of the architectural terminology in Ezekiel 40-48 is reflected, albeit in its Aramaic equivalent (which he gleans from the Targums), in the architectural terminology of the *NJ* (S. FUJITA, “The Temple Theology of the Qumran Sect and the Book of Ezekiel: Their Relationship to Jewish Literature of the Last Two Centuries B.C.,” Diss: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1970, 310-311.).

right angles to each other.²⁶⁵

A final point of contact between the two texts involves the size of the city. Earlier in this chapter it was observed that Ezekiel 40-48 is the first articulation of the “monumental” type of the New Jerusalem and that, even though they might differ in the details, the later “monumental” expressions are conceptually dependent on it. One element of the city plan of the *NJ* and the city plans of ideal cities in general that is often overlooked is the difference in the size of the cities. Hippodamian ideal cities, Babylonian town planning, and Roman camps and colony cities are all normal-sized. The only place where one encounters regularly shaped cities that are so massive in size is in the New Jerusalem tradition, and this tradition stems from Ezekiel 40-48.

This is not to say that Ezekiel 40-48 is the primary source of the architectural elements and design features of the *NJ*. It is not, for there are many differences between the New Jerusalem of Ezekiel 40-48 and the New Jerusalem of the *NJ*. For instance, where the *NJ* uses a rod of seven cubits (4Q554 1 and 2, *passim*), Ezekiel uses one of six cubits (40.5), and where the city of the *NJ* is rectangular (4Q554 1 i 11 - ii 10), the one in Ezekiel is square (48.30-34). Moreover, the list of named gates and the order that the gates are presented in the *NJ* are very different from what is found in Ezekiel. But these are differences in the way that the elements of the *general* concept of the city plan, which is the same in both texts, are envisioned to exist in specific situations in each text.

²⁶⁵ L.H. SCHIFFMAN employs this very logic to explain the interior design of the cities of the *Temple Scroll*, which are not described. He argues that the “square character of the Temple plan of the scroll” and its parallels with the *NJ* probably meant that, like the city of the *NJ*, the streets and blocks of the cities of the *Temple Scroll* were arranged in an orthogonal fashion (“Sacred Space: The Land of Israel in the *Temple Scroll*,” *Biblical Archaeology Today*, 1990. *Proceedings of the Second Annual Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, June-July 1990* (Jerusalem, 1993), 398-410 at 407).

In conclusion, and recalling our reservations about a specific, well-defined “Hippodamian model” and its supposed influence on subsequent orthogonic cities, it may be suggested that while foreign design features may indeed have had some indirect influence on the layout of the city of the *NJ*, the right angles and regular shapes of the ideal designs contained in Ezekiel 40-48 may also have served as a direct antecedent for the general conception of this layout.

One final point regarding the general conception of the city plan of the *NJ* involves the postulate that from its first appearance in Ezekiel, the “eschatological New Jerusalem grows larger and larger.”²⁶⁶ To some degree this is true — as noted above, the new cities of a later text like Revelation literally covers the area of small continents. But it would be improper to employ this general trend to make specific conclusions about the date of the *NJ* on the basis of its size relative to the sizes of the other expressions of the New Jerusalem.²⁶⁷ First, there are exceptions to the linear progression of the “monumental” type from the earlier and smaller examples to the later and larger ones. For instance, even though it is the earliest expression of the type, Ezek 47:13-48:29 is concerned with enormous tracts of land that encompass an area the size of modern-day Israel. On the other hand the Temple of the *Temple Scroll* is roughly no more than the size of the historical Jerusalem of antiquity. Second, because there is no consensus on the date of the *Temple Scroll*, it is unclear whether this text should be considered an earlier or later expression of the topos (although it cannot, of course, postdate 70 CE). Third, not all New Jerusalems are “monumental” New

²⁶⁶ FREY, “Contexts,” 814.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 816: “This expansion of the Temple city [of the *NJ*] might be a step [from Ezekiel] towards the image of the gigantic cubic city descending from heaven in Rev 21:2.”

Jerusalems, and we cannot ignore that in a substantial portion of texts the size of the expected new city was not extraordinary. Fourth, the number of expressions of the “monumental” New Jerusalem are not numerous and are found in literature from the early post-exilic period to the first and second centuries CE. Even if one could state confidently that the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* is larger than the new city of Ezekiel 40-48 but smaller than the new city of Revelation, all one would be saying is that, with respect to the date of the composition of the *NJ*, it was likely written within a span of five or six centuries.

To summarize the results of this investigation in this section, it has been demonstrated that the best antecedent for the general urban concepts exhibited by the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* is the tradition of the “monumental” type of New Jerusalem as exemplified by Ezekiel 40-48, and not the ideal cities of other ancient cultures. In addition, nothing in this investigation has led to any solid conclusions about the date or provenance of the *NJ*.

Chapter 3

The Qumran *New Jerusalem* Text and the Dead Sea Scrolls

1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the issues relating to the place of the *NJ* with respect to other Dead Sea texts and, to the extent that this can be determined, the sectarian *Weltanschauung*. The structure of this enquiry is to some degree determined by previous scholarship, which has concentrated on several aspects of the relationship between the *NJ* and these Qumran contexts. These aspects largely stem from the *realia* of the *NJ* itself, namely: i) its preoccupation with the description of various urban structures and the Temple complex and its operations; ii) its eschatological expectations, which are most notably preserved at 4Q554 2 iii; and iii) the fact that it is composed in Aramaic and not in Hebrew. Accordingly, the sections in this chapter are broadly arranged to reflect the contours of this previous scholarship. At the same time, however, our study of the *NJ* is not simply a derivative of the concerns and opinions of established scholarship.

Our enquiry in this chapter will proceed in four stages. First, we will investigate the degree to which points of contact exist between the *NJ* and other Dead Sea texts with respect

to architectural design and Temple operation. Second, we will challenge the prevailing scholarly opinion concerning the nature of the eschatological expectations of the *NJ*, and will offer a new understanding of the eschatological horizon of the *NJ*. Third, we will discuss the relationship between this horizon and the eschatological expectations of the *Temple Scroll*, the *Florilegium*, and the *War Scroll*, three texts that are key to the prevailing scholarly opinion. Finally, we will offer insights concerning points of contact between the *NJ* and several newly published Qumran texts.

2. *The NJ and the Temple Scroll: Architectural Design and Temple Operation*

a. *The NJ, the Temple Scroll, and the Reworked Pentateuch*

From the perspective of issues related to architectural design, the most important of the Dead Sea texts with respect to the *NJ* are the *Temple Scroll* and certain fragments from the text known as *Reworked Pentateuch*. These three texts were identified and discussed in Chapter 2 as expressions of the “monumental” type of the New Jerusalem. The *Temple Scroll*, in particular, potentially shares many other points of contact with the *NJ*, most notably in the areas of the architectural design of the various buildings and other structures,¹ and with respect to the details of the Temple complex and its operation. As a result, the issue of the consanguinity between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* has occasioned a fair amount of debate, much of it centered on the questions of the identification and the evaluation of the strength of these points of contact.

Before addressing the question of the points of contact between the *NJ* and the

¹ As distinct from the study of urban planning, which was addressed in Chapter 2, §6.

Temple Scroll, it is necessary to discuss briefly three fragments of the *Reworked Pentateuch* and to examine the issue of their relationship to the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*. The history of the identification of the fragments of what now are classified as 4Q365 23, 4Q365a 2 i-ii, and 4Q365a 3 is a complicated story, but is one that is worth summarizing, since it provides an opportunity to present the major hypotheses regarding their relationship to these other texts.

In the same 1977 article in which he suggested a possible connexion between the *NJ* and the so-called “Hippodamian” cities, J. STARCKY referred to a document, written in Hebrew, which “décrit une enceinte du temple avec les mêmes douze portes” as those detailed in both *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*.² The object of STARCKY’S interest were three fragments that he classified as “Nouvelle Jérusalem hébreu.”³ A few years later, in his edition of the *Temple Scroll*, Y. YADIN published photographs of these fragments, but claimed that they were from a 4Q copy of the *Temple Scroll*.⁴ This position has since been challenged, first by L. LEVINE, who, in addition to questioning YADIN’S claims, suggested that these three fragments were not all from the same document,⁵ and then by M.O. WISE,

² STARCKY, “Jérusalem,” 39.

³ See F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “New Perspectives on the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Perspectives in the Study of the Old Testament and Early Judaism. A Symposium in Honour of Adam S. van der Woude on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday* (edd. F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and E. NOORT; VTSup 73; Leiden/Boston/ Köln, 1998), 230-248 at 237). On the transfer of the fragments from STARCKY to STRUGNELL, see GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” 445, note 27.

⁴ Y. YADIN, *Temple Scroll*, 1.8, 2.82. See WISE, *Temple Scroll*, 45, note 33, for a list of scholars who accept YADIN’S view.

⁵ “The Temple Scroll: Aspects of Its Historical Provenance and Literary Character,” *BASOR* 232 (1978), 5-23 at 15-16. The suggestion that all three fragments might not be from the same documents was made also by H.A. MINK, “The Use of Scripture in the Temple Scroll and the Status of the Scroll as Law,” *SJOT* 1 (1987), 20-50 [*non vidi*, but cited in WISE, *Temple Scroll*, 58].

who preferred to see the fragments as the remains of either earlier sources used by the *Temple Scroll* or a “proto-Temple Scroll.”⁶ The view that one or all of these fragments were part of a Hebrew copy of the *NJ* was permanently laid to rest by J. STRUGNELL, who also disagreed with YADIN’S thesis and instead posited that the fragments were part of 4Q364-365, which are copies of the *Reworked Pentateuch*, a document that he termed “a wildly aberrant text of the whole Pentateuch.”⁷ The question of the relationship between these fragments and the *Temple Scroll* remained, however.

In the early 1990s, S. WHITE published the DJD editions of the fragments of the text she identified as 4Q365a, which she concluded to be a composition distinct from the *Reworked Pentateuch* and one that could possibly be labeled as “4QTemple?”⁸ Included in her edition of 4Q365a were two of the three fragments in question (the other fragment having been previously labeled 4Q365 23).⁹ F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, however, has since raised

⁶ WISE, *Temple Scroll*, 44-60. WISE argues that YADIN’S 40*1 (part of an original source that WISE labels “D”) and 40*2 (part of an original source he calls the “Temple Source”) were deliberately omitted by the final redactor of the *Temple Scroll*. On his view of the relationship between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*, see below. As for 38*5, the fragment containing the named gates (later called 4Q365a 2), WISE posits that, on the basis of an incompatibility in line and column lengths between this fragment and the relevant section in the *Temple Scroll*, the fragment is part of a proto-*Temple Scroll* to which the final redactor of 11Q19 added diverse material from his other sources.

⁷ Reported in GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Future Temple,” 180, note 1; see also B. THIERING, “The Date of Composition of the Temple Scroll,” *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. G.J. BROOKE; JSPSup 7; Sheffield, 1989), 99-120 at 99-101 for further arguments.

⁸ *Qumran Cave 4. VIII* (edd. H. ATTRIDGE, *et alii*; DJD 13; Oxford, 1994), 319-333, pls. XXXIII-XXXIV); *eadem*, “Three Fragments from Qumran Cave 4 and Their Relationship to the Temple Scroll,” *JQR* 85 (1994), 259-273; see also her earlier study, featuring 4Q365 23): “4Q364 & 365: A Preliminary Report,” *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March, 1991* (edd. J. TREBOLLE BARRERA and L. VEGAS MONTANER; STDJ 11; Leiden/New York/Köln, 1992), 1.223-228.

⁹ Thus: YADIN 38*5 = WISE fragment 3 = 4Q365a 2; YADIN 40*1 = WISE fragment 1 = 4Q365 23; YADIN 40*2 = WISE fragment 2 = 4Q365a 3.

serious objections to both of WHITE'S conclusions.¹⁰ É. PUECH'S preliminary conclusions are that 4Q365a is clearly different from 4Q365 and that 4Q365a might represent a very old copy of the *Temple Scroll*.¹¹ In light of these studies, WHITE has since modified her position, calling 4Q365a "part of the source material that was used in the redaction of the Temple Scroll," although she appears to hesitate to include these fragments as part of the text that most other scholars identify as *Reworked Pentateuch*.¹²

The major point of contact among the *Reworked Pentateuch*, the *NJ*, and the *Temple Scroll* centers on the list of named gates at 4Q365a 2 ii,¹³ which is the feature that had originally caused STARCKY to postulate that this fragment was part of a Hebrew copy of the *NJ*. As was noted in Chapter 1, the list of named gates in 4Q365a, although fragmentary, was probably in its original state the same as the list found twice in complete form in the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19 xxxix and xl-xli). Also important is the fact that this list is not the same as the one that is partially preserved at 4Q554 1 i-ii. In addition, very few of the lists of the tribes

¹⁰ "New Perspectives on the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 237-239; *idem*, "Temple Scroll," (trans. A.E. ALVAREZ) *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (edd. L.H. SCHIFFMAN and J.C VANDERKAM. Oxford, 2000), 927-933 at 928.

¹¹ PUECH, "Fragments du plus ancien exemplaire du Rouleau du Temple (4Q524)," *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge, 1995* (edd. M. BERNSTEIN, *et alii*; STDJ 23; Leiden/New York/Köln, 1997), 19-64 at 50.

¹² S.W. CRAWFORD, *The Temple Scroll and Related Texts* (Sheffield, 2000), 14-16. But see also the objections to CRAWFORD'S argument raised by FREY, "Contexts," 806-807, note 34.

¹³ CRAWFORD, DJD XIII, 329, states that the twelve gates of 4Q365a 2 ii are "named for each of the sons of Jacob (rather than the twelve tribes of Israel)." That this distinction can be made is not certain, however, even with respect to most of the relevant places in the Hebrew Bible where the sons of Jacob are listed, which were likely compiled well after the idea of the twelve tribes had become part of Israel's history. From the perspective of the lists contained in post-exilic writings, that this distinction existed would be hard to prove. Moreover, the list of gates in Ezekiel is explicitly a list of the "tribes of Israel," not the sons of Jacob (48:30-31), while the tribes are mentioned in conjunction with the named gates of Rev 21:12-13, and even though they are not specifically listed, we see at 7:4 the term tribes again used, this time followed by a list of names. Therefore, with reference to the other expressions of the monumental Jerusalem there is good evidence to suggest that the twelve tribes of Israel were the subject of these lists, not the twelve sons of Jacob.

of Israel that are found scattered throughout the biblical and extra-biblical literature share precisely the same order. If, as was observed in Chapter 1, the tendency in these lists was towards dissimilarity rather than similarity — even if the correspondence between any two lists failed at only two or three names out of the twelve — then there was no certainty that missing names in one specific list could be filled by extant names in another list.¹⁴ Accordingly, and with one exception,¹⁵ reconstructing the names of the missing gates in the *NJ* is not justified on the basis of the list of the *Temple Scroll / Reworked Pentateuch*.

Therefore, despite a superficial similarity that has caused a number of scholars to persist in seeing a connexion among all three texts in this matter,¹⁶ no concrete conclusions should be offered regarding the relationship of the list of the named gates in the *NJ* to the list of named gates in the *Temple Scroll / Reworked Pentateuch*. It is hypothetically possible that both lists may have stemmed from a common source,¹⁷ with one or the other (or both) having been altered in order to fulfil some unknown purpose. The fact remains, however, that one cannot determine whether the missing names in the list of the *NJ* were identical to or completely different from those in the corresponding spots in the list of the *Temple Scroll / Reworked Pentateuch*. This fundamental uncertainty necessarily limits the range of possible

¹⁴ See Chapter 1, Table IV, “Named Gates in the Biblical and Extra-Biblical Literature.”

¹⁵ The Gate of Levi. See Chapter 1, Note on the Reading at 4Q554 1 i 14-15.

¹⁶ See, *inter alia*, WISE, “New Jerusalem Texts,” 744: “The precise order of the gates [of the *NJ*] accords with no other biblical or extrabiblical gated structure or listing of the tribes; the *Temple Scroll* with its named gates is closest (one small change)”; and CRAWFORD, *Temple Scroll*, 39, note 1, re the order of the gates in the *Temple Scroll*: “The city gates (as much as they are preserved) in the New Jerusalem fragments have a very similar order ...”

¹⁷ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 609: “the only elements essentially common to both compositions [the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*] are the names of the city and temple gates, which ... may stem from a common tradition.”

suggestions as to the reason for the alteration of either or both lists.¹⁸ Accordingly, the fact that there is no measurable similarity between the named gates of the *NJ* and those of the *Temple Scroll / Reworked Pentateuch* means that one can no longer cite this so-called congruence as one way in which these three documents are closely related.

b. The *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*

The two basic arguments concerning the more complex question of the relationship between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* were formulated comparatively early, even though at the time the bulk of the 4Q and 11Q material had yet to be published, even in preliminary form. In a 1979 article, J. LICHT contended that the information of the *Temple Scroll* was of no use in understanding the data of *NJ* because “it is concerned with contingent, but not identical, subjects.”¹⁹ In contrast, B.Z. WACHOLDER claimed in a 1983 study that the *NJ* was clearly dependant on the *Temple Scroll* (*pace* YADIN) and that by describing a city whose measurements and dimensions were in harmony with the architectural data of the *Temple Scroll*, the author of the *NJ* meant to assure his readers that “the future temple at the end of days will be located nowhere else except in the chosen city.”²⁰

¹⁸ Thus we do not agree with GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ (“Future Temple,” 185) that the presence of a third copy of the list of named gates (4Q365a) simply forbids us to make a direct link between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*; rather, the fundamental disparity (fifty per cent) between the extant names on the list of the *NJ* and the list of the *Temple Scroll / Reworked Pentateuch*, insofar as the evidence permits us to compare both lists, means that no conclusions whatsoever can be drawn, including a theory of their dependence on a common tradition (*contra* GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” 454, note 42).

¹⁹ LICHT, “Ideal,” 46.

²⁰ *The Dawn of Qumran. The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (HUCM 8; Cincinnati, 1983), 96. He re-affirms this position in a more recent essay, “The Ancient Judaeo-Aramaic Literature (500-164 BCE). A Classification of Pre-Qumranic Texts,” *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. L.H. SCHIFFMAN; JSPSup 8, JSOT/ASOR Monographs 2; Sheffield, 1990), 257-281 at 264. See the response by GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ,

Since the early 1980s, scholars generally either have sided with WACHOLDER'S view (although opinions vary as to the nature of the supporting evidence and the relative weight that ought to be placed on different arguments) or have concluded, without addressing the full range of arguments raised by those who see an intimate correspondence between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*, that the two texts share both key similarities and key differences. Our view is more extreme than either position, however, in that we do not find any substantive evidence either of a close relationship between the two texts or of the dependence of one text upon the other. The purpose of this section is thus to demonstrate a lack of congruence point by point, and to this end it is necessary to outline in some detail the particulars of the arguments that will be challenged.

In an explicit response to LICHT'S claim, WISE maintains that there is an intimate relationship between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*. Drawing together previous arguments and adding many of his own, WISE argues in his 1990 book²¹ that i) the number seven

"Future Temple," 180-186, esp. 181-182. In fact, many of the architectural parallels between the two texts already had been described by YADIN in his 1977 edition of the *Temple Scroll* that was published in English only in 1983 (*The Temple Scroll*, 1.212-217, 220, 225-226, 235, and 241, *passim*), including his observation that the dimensions of the "House of the Laver" of the Temple Scroll were the same (twenty-one cubits) as those of the houses in the *NJ*.

Curiously, no mention is made of the architectural detail of *NJ* in the relevant articles in the 1989 volume *Temple Scroll Studies. Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. G.J BROOKE; JSPSup 7; Sheffield, 1989). These articles include J. MAIER, "The Architectural History of the Temple in Jerusalem in the Light of the Temple Scroll," 23-62; M. BARKER, "The Temple Measurements and the Solar Calendar," 63-66. M. DELCOR, "Is the Temple Scroll a Source of the Herodian Temple?" 67-89; and B. THIERING, "The Date of Composition of the Temple Scroll," 99-120. THIERING even discussed the connexions between the *Temple Scroll* and Revelation, including each text's list of the twelve tribes, but made no reference to the list of named gates in 4Q*NJ*, although STARCKY'S *La monde de la Bible* article appeared in 1979.

²¹ WISE, *Temple Scroll*, 66-81. He cites LICHT at page 64.

appears time and again in the architectural design plans of both texts,²² whereas the base number in Ezekiel 40-48 is twenty-five; ii) 11Q19 xxxvii 4 and 2Q24 8 both describe a distinct space within the inner court of the Temple; iii) 11Q19 xxxviii 9 and 2Q24 4 both describe the place where the loaves of the shewbread were divided and consumed; iv) the *Temple Scroll* and 2Q24 4 concur with respect to the priestly courses; v) there is an exact correspondence between the named gates in the *Temple Scroll* and those in the *NJ*;²³ vi) the measuring formula of width + length appears in the *Temple Scroll* and (sporadically) in *NJ*, in contrast to the usual length + width formula of Ezekiel and elsewhere; and vii) there are certain other minor linguistic and architectural similarities, including a fondness for pillars as an architectural feature in both the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*, which, because pillars are a Hellenistic design element, might represent “a conscious or unconscious openness to Greek culture” on the part of the authors (or redactors) of both texts.

We should at this point mention the 1992 contribution of BROSHI, who, while admitting that significant differences exist, nevertheless concurs that there is a “close relationship” between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*.²⁴ In addition to citing a number of WISE’S 1990 arguments, BROSHI remarks that the dimension of the perimeter of the outer court in the *Temple Scroll*, 1,700 by 1,700 cubits, is very close to the dimensions of the

²² Note also WACHOLDER, who observes that “the seven-cubit scheme uses a prime number which is only divisible by itself. No builder would use such a measurement unless he had reason to argue that the sabbatical number must serve as the standard measurement for the sanctuary” (“The Ancient Judaeo-Aramaic Literature,” 270).

²³ See also CRAWFORD, *Temple Scroll*, 82, who remarks that the two lists of named gates are “practically identical.” On this subject, see above, regarding the relationship among the *NJ*, the *Reworked Pentateuch*, and the *Temple Scroll*, and our analysis in Chapter 1.

²⁴ BROSHI, “Architecture.”

blocks of houses of the *NJ*, 1,680 by 1,680 cubits, a similarity that “could hardly be an accident.”

In a more recent, 2000 article²⁵ WISE does not explicitly stress the priority of the *NJ*, but identifies several more points of contact between it and the *Temple Scroll*, noting that: i) *pace* YADIN and CHYUTIN,²⁶ there are several more architectural and other parallels that revolve around the Temple and its operation,²⁷ including a slaughterhouse²⁸ with “twelve pillars and rings to hold the animals” and, most importantly, a “House of the Laver,” a structure mentioned nowhere else in the biblical or extra-biblical literature but these two texts; ii) the height of the wall of the *NJ* is the same as that of the wall of the outer court of the *Temple Scroll*;²⁹ and iii) on the basis of CHYUTIN’s reconstruction of the text of the *NJ*,³⁰ both texts describe their structures from the inside out. WISE concludes that the *NJ* is “the earliest known example of a square planning tradition for the ideal city” that originated in priestly circles.³¹ The view that both texts stem from “priestly circles” is also shared by GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, who suggests that these circles were primarily concerned with “cultic

²⁵ “New Jerusalem Texts,” 743-744.

²⁶ See also CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, 42-44, although he does not stress that the “House of the Laver” is unique to these two texts.

²⁷ See also CRAWFORD, *Temple Scroll*, 71-72.

²⁸ The connexion of 1Q32 14 with a *NJ* slaughterhouse was first mentioned by YADIN, *Temple Scroll*, 1.235. The parallel with the *Temple Scroll* in this matter is also accepted by CRAWFORD, *Temple Scroll*, 82.

²⁹ See also GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 609.

³⁰ This is not exactly correct. CHYUTIN reconstructs what can only be called an *Urtext*, from which all the extant copies derive. But even this is uncertain, since it is based on our own conclusion as to his purposes, purposes that CHYUTIN himself never states. See Chapter 2, §5, b for a detailed evaluation of CHYUTIN’S reconstruction.

³¹ “New Jerusalem Texts,” 743.

and temple problems.”³²

Finally, although CHYUTIN himself does not devote a special section in his book to the relationship between the two texts, his reconstruction of the *NJ* and his theories as to its antecedents, parallels, and purpose³³ at times refer to specific points of contact between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*, many of which, as we have observed, are cited by WISE and will not be repeated here. One of CHYUTIN’S most controversial contributions is his insistence that the *NJ* describes a battery of Temple ceremonies,³⁴ some of which have no parallel in the biblical or extra-biblical literature, while others exhibit some connexion with the ceremonies of the *Temple Scroll*.

A close examination of the evidence, however, reveals that there is no congruence between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*. In fact, as has already been stated, this lack of congruence is far more acute than previously has been suggested, even by those who have questioned the theories of WACHOLDER, WISE, and others.³⁵ To be sure, there are a few similarities between the texts with respect to certain architectural details.³⁶ One example of a possible architectural correspondence is found at 11Q18 6 1, which GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and

³² GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” 457.

³³ CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*.

³⁴ An outline of these ceremonies (and the places in which they occur in his reconstructed text) is found at CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, 48.

³⁵ See, esp., FREY, “Contexts,” and the various articles of GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ.

³⁶ One of the few parallels is the fact that houses in both texts open to inside courtyards that have rooms on the first floor (see GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 609).

TIGCHELAAR read as *מאתין ותמנין אמנין* (“280 cub[its]”),³⁷ and which may have a parallel in the *Temple Scroll* in the dimension of the inner side of the wall of the Temple’s inner court, which YADIN measures as 280 cubits. As was discussed in Chapter 1, however, the reading at 11Q18 6 is by no means certain, and the text could be read as “rods:] 280, cub[its: 1960.” Another example of a potential architectural similarity between the two texts might be 11Q18 11 2, where GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and TIGCHELAAR suggest that the word *חצי צא* (“the ch[annel]”) could be read; this, they note, might correspond to the *תעלה* of 11Q19 xxxii 12-14, a feature that is associated with the Laver of the *Temple Scroll*.³⁸ There are also some similarities between the two texts regarding aspects of and objects for the operation of the Temple, such as the presence in both texts of an altar with four corners (11Q18 22 1 and 11Q19 xxiii 12 [*cf.* Ezek 43:20]).³⁹ Furthermore, it might be the case that in both texts the Levites are involved with the sacrifices in the Temple (11Q18 30⁴⁰ and 11Q19 xxii (par 11Q20 v-vi)).

All the same, nearly all the so-called parallels or points of contact between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* do not bear close scrutiny or ultimately prove not to be meaningful to the discussion for the following reasons:

- Whereas the *NJ* is written in Aramaic and contains a third-person, mediated

³⁷ DJD XXIII, 314-315. CRAWFORD, *Temple Scroll*, 82, accepts the parallel without comment.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 322. Note also the *בתי חזונה* of 11Q18 18 6, which (following MILIK) GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/ TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII, 334, observe might refer to a room for communal religious meals and so might be related to the *בית מושבות* of 11Q19 xxxvii 8.

³⁹ See also 11Q18 25 5 / 11Q19 xvii 13, re “two bulls”; in the case of the *Temple Scroll*, the mention of two bulls occurs in the context of the Passover festival.

⁴⁰ *ןן עוד לויא דבחין*. Note, however, that GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/ TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII, 349, remark that “the syntax of the damaged clause and the reconstruction of the last word is uncertain.”

description that is presented in the form of a visionary revelation (a topic to which we will return) and without legislative material, the *Temple Scroll* is composed in Hebrew and preserves legislation that is presented unmediated and in the first-person.⁴¹

- As was discussed in depth in Chapter 2, and despite a fundamental uncertainty regarding the way in which the subject matter of the *NJ* was originally arranged, there is no evidence to suggest that the description of the city proceeded from the inside out, as it does in the *Temple Scroll*. Rather, all indications point to the description in the *NJ* as proceeding from the outside inwards, that is, from the city wall to the inner parts of the Temple.

- Although is beyond the scope of this section to discuss each of CHYUTIN'S assertions about the ceremonies that he claims are described in the preserved portions of the *NJ*, it is clear that most of these assertions are, in the blunt words of E. TIGCHELAAR, "mere imagination."⁴² In their reviews of CHYUTIN'S book, both TIGCHELAAR and L. STUCKENBRUCK report that in many cases where such ceremonies are attested, CHYUTIN incorrectly reads or inaccurately joins fragments and then improperly interprets these fragments on the basis of these faulty readings and joinings.⁴³ Accordingly, all of CHYUTIN'S conclusions concerning the points of contact between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* in the areas of common or similar ceremonies must be considered suspect.⁴⁴

- Regarding the issue of the lists of the named gates in both the *NJ* and the *Temple*

⁴¹ FREY, "Contexts," 805.

⁴² TIGCHELAAR, Review of CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, *RevQ* 18 (1998), 453-457 at 456.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 456-457; L. STUCKENBRUCK, Review of CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, *JTS* 50 (1999), 658-664 at 660-661.

⁴⁴ For more detailed criticisms of CHYUTIN'S version of the text of the *NJ*, see Chapter 2, §5, a.

Scroll, it is necessary only to repeat the conclusions: i) that there is no close similarity between the extant names of the list of the *NJ* and the one preserved in both the *Temple Scroll* and the *Reworked Pentateuch*; and ii) that because the evidence of other lists in the literature suggests that dissimilarity, rather than similarity, among the lists was the norm, one cannot reasonably reconstruct the full list of named gates in the *NJ* on the basis of the names of another list, and thereby cannot reasonably offer any theories as to the relationship between the lists or a dependence on a common source.

- The description of the slaughterhouse is by no means certain in the *NJ*. That a slaughterhouse *might* have been part of the *NJ* in the places where the text discusses the operations of the Temple complex is certainly a possibility. What remains problematic are the arguments for specific similarities regarding a slaughterhouse in both the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*, which are the similarities that have been cited as evidence for a congruence between these two texts. The existence of a *NJ* slaughterhouse rests partially on CHYUTIN'S reconstruction of at least nine of the 1Q32 fragments⁴⁵ in the bottom portion of his column 7 into a coherent description of the structures inside the Temple complex of the *NJ*.⁴⁶ This reconstruction, which simply ignores all previous scholarship, is fraught with technical difficulties: fragments are joined solely on the basis of content and in spite of the material

⁴⁵ The process of attempting to arrange the 1QNJ fragments coherently was first begun by YADIN. As we noted in the Introduction, YADIN recreates a section of the text using 1Q32 1, 5, and 14 (*The Temple Scroll*, 1.235), but GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ has since proven YADIN'S attempt to be materially untenable (see, especially, "Future Temple," 181-182, n. 7; and "Temple Scroll," 446, note 30).

⁴⁶ The precise number of 1Q32 fragments employed by CHYUTIN is impossible to tell: not only does he not identify them, but in cases where we can identify them by comparison with MILIK'S DJD I edition, it is quite obvious that CHYUTIN has added letters to fragments as he sees fit. Our best guess is that 1Q32 1, 1Q32 2, 1Q32 3, 1Q32 5, 1Q32 7, 1Q32 14, 1Q32 16, 1Q32 17, and 1Q32 22 are represented in the lower part of his column 7.

evidence, letters are magically added to the fragments without comment, and spatial relationships among words and letters in each fragments are unnecessarily distorted. If we dismiss CHYUTIN'S reconstruction as mere imagination, we are left with a collection of fragments that its original editor, MILIK, suggests "n'est pas très homogène."⁴⁷

Moreover, an examination of the contents of these disparate fragments reveals that the existence of the "twelve pillars" is based on CHYUTIN'S reconstruction of the text at his column 7, line 13 (מממע ל לעמודין תרני עשר), which is radically different than what 1Q32 1 2 actually reads at that point (ממע ל לעמודא), so MILIK, DJD I.⁴⁸ In addition, 1Q32 14 2-3, the fragment supposedly mentioning the "wheels" or "rings" of the slaughterhouse ([גלגל], a reading that is itself by no means certain) might not even be part of 1Q32 at all.⁴⁹

- As for the supposed congruence between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* regarding the inner court (11Q19 xxxvii 4 and 2Q24 8) the information about the shewbread (11Q19 xxxviii 9 and 2Q24 4), and the priestly roster of both texts, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ has already rendered detailed arguments explaining that in all three cases WISE'S conclusions are faulty, based as they are on unfounded suppositions and a series of possible reconstructions of the text.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ See the Introduction, note 20.

⁴⁸ It is unclear how CHYUTIN obtains the rest of the letters beyond MILIK'S tentative *dalet*. Our best guess is that it is from the first line of 1Q32 5, although such a positioning of this fragment in his column 7 would require the letters of its second line to be situated five or six letter-spaces to the right of where they actually appear on the fragment itself. Moreover (even if we were to assume that CHYUTIN'S placement of these two fragments was materially sound, which it is not), the letter that follows the *taw* is not a *resh*.

⁴⁹ See MILIK, DJD I: "'roue' ou 'chapiteau,' si le fragment appartient au même ms. que les ff. 1-7; ou Gilgala, s'il provient d'un autre." On the uncertainty of assigning fragment 14 to 1Q32, see also GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ ("Temple Scroll," 446 note 30).

⁵⁰ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "Future Temple," 183-185.

- Generally speaking, the fact that certain portions of the *NJ* are concerned with the Temple complex and its structures and operations is quite natural given the fact that its New Jerusalem has a New Temple as well. Accordingly, this concern on the part of the *NJ* should not be taken as proof of a close correspondence between it and the *Temple Scroll*,⁵¹ and at least one of the very few specific points of contact in this area is likely the result of a dependence on Ezekiel rather than evidence of a connexion between the two Dead Sea texts.⁵²

- A particularly fascinating aspect of the *Temple Scroll* is its mention of the cities that are situated beyond the boundary of the Temple complex (11Q19 xlvi 8, 14, 17). While their precise purpose remains unclear, their mere existence would seem to be at odds with the centrality of the New Jerusalem in the *NJ*.⁵³ In addition, there is no hint of urban space in the *Temple Scroll* at all. Nor is there the sort of concern found in the *NJ* with living spaces for the population, roadways for traffic and commerce, walls and towers for defense, and so

⁵¹ In fact, the GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR DJD XXIII edition of 11Q18 (11Q18 being the copy of the *NJ* wherein we find the great bulk of the references to the Temple and its operation) contains very few notations in the way of parallels between the *NJ* material and that of the *Temple Scroll*, and most of these suggest only a broad degree of correspondence. See the Notes on the Reading in DJD XXIII for 11Q18 6 1 (re: the “280 cubits” that we discussed in Chapter 1, §4, b), 11Q18 7 1 (re: a congruent but not identical phrase in the *Temple Scroll*), 11Q18 11 2 (re: a reading in the *editio princeps* that might have preserved an Aramaic cognate to a Hebrew word found in the *Temple Scroll* but that GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR no longer accept as an acceptable reading of the text), 11Q18 17 i 3-4 (re: the general context for a prohibition), 11Q18 18 6 (re: a phrase that “may be related” to a term in the *Temple Scroll*), 11Q18 19 1 (re: a portion of text that, if reconstructed, might correspond to a design element in the *Temple Scroll*), 11Q18 22 1 (re: the four corners of the altar, see the next note in this chapter), 11Q18 26 3 (re: the general context for what may be the Passover sacrifice), 11Q18 28 5 (re: the general context for the number of bulls needed for a sacrifice), and 11Q18 29 4 (re: the general context for the cereal needed for an offering).

⁵² The explicit mention of the four corners of the altar (a number that is not mentioned explicitly in Exod 29:12 or Leviticus 4 but that is found at both at 11Q18 22 1 and 11Q19 xxiii 12) is probably taken in the case of both Dead Sea texts from Ezek 43:20. See GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII, 340.

⁵³ On this subject, see Chapter 2, §2, c.

on.

- The dimension of the perimeter of the outer court in the *Temple Scroll* is not, as BROSHI⁵⁴ claims, 1,700 cubits square, but rather “approximately” 1,600 cubits square.⁵⁵ This is a significant difference, and it means that BROSHI’S claim of a parallel between the blocks of houses of the *NJ* and the perimeter of the outer court of the *Temple Scroll* on the basis of a common measurement must be discarded.

- The height of the walls of the *NJ* and the outer court of the *Temple Scroll* might indeed be the same (forty-nine cubits), but the thickness of these walls is different (fourteen cubits in the *NJ* versus seven cubits in the *Temple Scroll*).⁵⁶ In addition, had the height of these walls been a more unexpected or unattested figure, the possibility of a correspondence between the two texts in this regard might have held more weight. As it stands, the figure of forty-nine cubits is simply unsurprising in structures whose widths are also multiples of seven.

- As was discussed in Chapter 2, spiral staircases appear in both the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* and so technically represent an architectural similarity.⁵⁷ The number of texts in the ancient world, however, that contain blueprint-like descriptions of cities and temples is extremely limited, and it is not inconceivable that similar structural problems — in this case, how to proceed from one floor to another — are independently solved in similar ways

⁵⁴ See the short description of BROSHI’S contributions to the discussion, above.

⁵⁵ See Chapter 2, §2, c, and especially note 87.

⁵⁶ See Chapter 1, Note on the Reading at 4Q554 2 ii 15-16.

⁵⁷ So GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 609.

in different texts.

- Whereas the wall of the outer court of the *Temple Scroll* is a square (like the walls of the New Jerusalems of Ezekiel 40-48 and Revelation 21-22), the wall of the city of the *NJ* is a rectangle. Although this disagreement is not especially “remarkable”⁵⁸ — after all, the wall of the outer court of the *Temple Scroll* and the city wall of the *NJ* are not identical structures, and perhaps the lost portions of the *NJ* might have contained information about a square Temple enclosure⁵⁹ — it is still a difference that needs to be taken into account.⁶⁰

- Chapter 1 offered some conclusions as to the phraseology of distance measurement in the *NJ*.⁶¹ It was established that it differed markedly from that of the *Temple Scroll*, and also that the formula of width + length to express the measurements of a two-sided object (which WISE notes is characteristic of the *Temple Scroll*) is very likely limited in the *NJ* only to instances of objects whose width and length are equal. Also, where Ezekiel uses a six-rod cubit (40:5),⁶² the *NJ* uses a seven-rod cubit, and the *Temple Scroll* uses a rod not at all.⁶³

⁵⁸ Pace FREY, “Contexts,” 806.

⁵⁹ See above, with respect to the “280 cubits” of the inner court of the *Temple Scroll* and of an unnamed structure in the *NJ*. CHYUTIN has argued that the Temple complex in the *NJ* is square, but because he never cites his sources and rarely explains his arguments, we cannot be sure that he is basing this claim on his reconstruction, which in so many places is demonstrably faulty.

⁶⁰ From the perspective of the development of the topos as a whole, FREY calls this rectangular wall of the *NJ* “the most important point where the New Jerusalem Text differs from the traditio-historical line running from Ezekiel down to Revelation” (“Contexts,” 813).

⁶¹ It should be repeated that it was PUECH (“JN,” 49, note 2) who first studied the distance phraseology, although his comments were very much preliminary ones and did not offer much in the way of detailed observations.

⁶² “Long” cubits, *i.e.*, one short cubit plus a hand’s breadth.

⁶³ CRAWFORD observes that where Ezekiel 40-48 uses the cubit and (once, at 40.5-7) the rod but not the stadion or *ris*, the *Temple Scroll* uses the cubit and (once, at 11Q19 lii 18) the stadion but not the rod, and the *NJ* uses all three (*Temple Scroll*, 70). The stadion is the key, not so much to establish a congruence between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* (one reference to the stadion in the latter does not a congruence make!), but to

● There are two replies to WISE’s argument that the measurements in both the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* are overwhelmingly based on the number seven and its multiples.

First, one could respond, as does GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, that the presence of such numbers should not be considered unusual in a text such as the *NJ*, which employs a seven-cubit rod.⁶⁴ Put another way, measurements based on numbers that are multiples of seven are not unexpected in a system whose fundamental units of measurement are related to each other by the ratio of one (a rod) to seven (a cubit). In addition, one might reasonably expect an even higher percentage of such numbers when the principal feature of the system in question is its regularity, since a certain freedom of expression in both shape and dimension will necessarily be sacrificed for the sake of symmetry of design. As a result, any correspondence between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* in this area is unintentional.

Second, a close investigation of the actual measurements as they are recorded throughout the *NJ* reveals that while an expected proportion of these measurements are expressed by numbers that are multiples of seven, the *majority* of the measurements are *not*. In the first two columns of 4Q554 1,⁶⁵ for example, one finds the following: the North and the South walls of the city are twenty-four⁶⁶ stadia long (4Q554 1 i-ii, *passim*); the blocks of houses are fifty-one rods square (4Q554 1 ii 11-12); the width of the street is six cubits (4Q554 1 ii 15); an unnamed structure is seventeen cubits wide (4Q554 1 ii 18); and the final

segregate these two documents in time from Ezekiel.

⁶⁴ So GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Future Temple,” 183.

⁶⁵ See our translation in Chapter 1.

⁶⁶ On twenty-four stadia *versus* twenty-five stadia, see Chapter 1, Note on the Reading at 4Q554 1 i 19. The difference is moot to the argument at this point: the numbers “twenty-four” and “twenty-five” are both indivisible by seven.

two dimensions recorded in column ii, whose referents are unclear, are sixty-seven cubits and ninety-two cubits (4Q554 1 ii 19-21). In light of this evidence, there is no reason to posit a connexion between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* on the basis that both texts share a preponderance of measurements whose values are multiples of seven.

- The fact that the “House of the Laver” of the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19 xxxii-xxxiii) might have the same dimensions as a residential house in the *NJ* (an unrelated structure, and one not even part of the Temple complex) is meaningless with respect to the question of the consanguinity between these texts.

- Finally, WISE argues that this “House of the Laver” is found only in the *NJ* and in the *Temple Scroll*. While this structure certainly appears in the latter text, it is not found in the *NJ*. WISE’S argument very likely depends on CHYUTIN’S text for this reading, since at column 7, line 8 of the latter’s reconstruction of the text of the *NJ* (= 11Q18 11 8) we find the word בכיור, which CHYUTIN translates as “into the laver,” and he later identifies כּיור as the “House of the Laver.”⁶⁷ As GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and TIGCHELAAR suggest, however, this word should be read not as כּיור but rather as כּיור, or “panelling work” [*sic*], which more properly fits with the context of the rest of the fragment of which it is a part.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ The upper portion of CHYUTIN’S column 7 (*NJ Scroll*) is reconstructed by the use of three fragments, 4Q554 4 (= J 5, 40), 11Q18 10 i, and 11Q18 11. The positioning of 4Q554 4 is faulty, as we demonstrate in Chapter 1, *ad loc*. There is no material join between 11Q18 10 i and 11Q18 11, and CHYUTIN has simply positioned these fragments on the basis of their content (something that the editors of the official DJD edition of 11Q18, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and TIGCHELAAR, (correctly) resist doing, and which TIGCHELAAR criticizes explicitly in his review of CHYUTIN’S book). The problem is that by situating all these fragments in one column, the reference to water in 11Q18 10 i 3 apparently has influenced his reading of 11Q18 11 8, which he translates “into the laver.”

⁶⁸ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII, 322-323.

c. Conclusions

The evidence strongly indicates that there is very little correspondence between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* in the areas of the architectural design of their various buildings and other structures and with respect to the details of the Temple complex and its operation. To be sure, since both texts preserve expressions of the “monumental” type of New Jerusalem / New Temple, one should expect to find some broad similarities regarding their urban design.⁶⁹ But with respect to specific details — that is, on the level of investigation from which conclusions might be drawn about the relationship between the two texts or their derivation from a common source — there are very few points of contact between the texts. While none of the sixteen points of disagreement just listed is definitive on its own, it is clear that the sum total of the evidence indicates that there are far too many discrepancies between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* to posit any close congruence between the two texts.

This lack of correspondence between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* would appear to render moot the questions as to which one is dependent upon the other or whether they are both derived from a common source. Previously, most theories that favoured a comparatively close connexion between the two texts tended to argue for the priority of the *NJ*.⁷⁰ WISE, for example, concludes that *Temple Scroll* is dependent on the *NJ*, since the huge size of the Temple complex of the aforementioned lost “Temple Source”⁷¹ upon which both texts are based is more appropriate to the enormous dimensions of the city of *NJ* than it is in its “new

⁶⁹ See Chapter 2, §2, b, on the “monumental” type of New Jerusalem.

⁷⁰ The exception is WACHOLDER, who understands the *NJ* to be dependent on the *Temple Scroll*.

⁷¹ This source is also the source for the three pertinent fragments from the *Reworked Pentateuch*. See the text to which note 7 in this chapter refers.

literary setting” within the present *Temple Scroll*. WISE further highlights the priority of the *NJ* and the dependence of the *Temple Scroll* on the *NJ* by means of several instances where the *Temple Scroll* introduces elements of distance measurement that could not possibly have been part of the *NJ* and therefore had to have been added when the traditions of the *NJ* were redacted by the author of the “Temple Source.”⁷²

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ is rightly more cautious, advancing only that because of the similarity in the list of named gates in the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*, one text might rely on the other or, more probably, both might have relied on a common source, which he identifies, as does WISE, as a “parabiblical source” like the *Reworked Pentateuch*.⁷³ But even this much is difficult to prove. As noted earlier, the congruence in these lists of named gates is not close enough to warrant making any firm claims of either priority or dependence among these texts.⁷⁴ Moreover, the demonstrable lack of both general and specific points of contact between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* means that despite the fact that certain fragments from the *Reworked Pentateuch* are clearly related to the *Temple Scroll*, they cannot speak to the degree of correspondence between these two texts and the *NJ*.

As a result, it is fruitless to suggest a date of composition or a provenance for the *NJ*

⁷² Specifically, the 3,000-cubit distance from the latrines to the populated areas in the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19 xlvi 13-16) would be ludicrous in the *NJ* and the three-day distance restriction on slaughtering beasts (11Q19 lii) and other such distance restrictions are too small to have made any sense in the context of the *NJ*. On a figure of three days as an expression of distance, see Chapter 2, note 105.

WISE’S argument about the latrines is an argument from silence and does not prove anything about either priority or dependence, especially since we simply do not know how much of the *NJ* (including whether it discussed the arrangement of latrines) has been lost. The three-day restriction might be better explained by positing a lack of relationship between the two texts rather than a theory of a common origin.

⁷³ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” 451-452.

⁷⁴ As FREY comments, the best explanation might be a widespread tradition from which all these texts drew inspiration (“Contexts,” 807).

— including its place with respect to the ideas and expectations of the Qumran community — on the basis of its relationship with the architectural data of the *Temple Scroll*. It is true that the *Temple Scroll* and, to a far lesser degree, the *Reworked Pentateuch* provide much in the way of needed context by which to situate the urban design features of the *NJ*, if only because there are very few texts from the Second Temple era that are so concerned with the detailed descriptions of eschatological structures and Temple operations. But the points of contact between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* are completely limited to general similarities. In our opinion, therefore, the evidence demonstrates that the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* do not depend on a common source nor does one depend on the other.

3. *The Eschatological “Horizon” of the NJ*

The one extremely important area of investigation that has yet to be addressed is what GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ calls the eschatological “horizon” of the *NJ*. The investigation of this eschatological horizon will not only shed further light on the degree of correspondence between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*, but will also help to situate the *NJ* in the context of other Dead Sea texts and, by extension, its place with respect to the beliefs and expectations of the Qumran community.

a. The Prevailing Scholarly Opinion

Commenting on the relationship between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* in the matter of their eschatological outlook, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ writes that

the horizon of the temple and city described in both documents is not compatible. The descriptions of the temple, cult, and city of the Temple Scroll are presented as the uniquely acceptable interpretation of the biblical text, which pertains to the present and not to the eschatological period. Meanwhile, the city, temple, and cult described in the New Jerusalem [= *NJ*] are presented as a revelation of something new and different, and specifically foreseen for the moment of the final battle. In this sense, the content of the New Jerusalem is comparable to the temple referred to in the Temple Scroll^a (11Q19 xxix.9-10), a temple clearly different from the one described in the rest of the Temple Scroll, which God will construct at the end of time. It is equally comparable to the temple referred to in *Florilegium* (4Q174 1.i.2) ... and above all to the temple and cult referred to in the War Scroll (1QM).⁷⁵

The last half of the quotation summarizes the prevailing scholarly opinion that the eschatological horizon of the *NJ* is “comparable” — perhaps if not in all its details, then in a general but substantive fashion — with the eschatological outlook of three prominent Dead Sea texts,⁷⁶ *i.e.*, the *Temple Scroll*, the *Florilegium*, and the *War Scroll*. The merits of this hypothesis will be evaluated more closely in a subsequent section of this chapter.

The particular issue addressed in this section, however, is the foundation for the prevailing scholarly opinion, namely, the understanding of the eschatological nature of the *NJ* and the identification of its eschatological expectations. It is our contention that upon closer review this understanding breaks down at several key points and in effect obscures

⁷⁵ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “New Jerusalem,” *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 609; see also *idem*, “Temple Scroll,” 455.

⁷⁶ In an earlier essay GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ outlined these claims in greater detail but asserted also that this link between the *NJ* and the Temples of 11Q19 xxix, 4Q174, and 1QM “forces us to consider *NJ* as a product of the Qumran community” (GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Future Temple,” 202-213 (the quotation is from page 213)). GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ has since re-evaluated the portion of his theory that stresses the Qumranic origin of the *NJ* and it no longer appears in his most recent studies.

the true character of the eschatological expectations of the *NJ*. Accordingly, it is only when this true character is isolated and identified that one can compare the eschatological expectations of the *NJ* with those of other Dead Sea texts.

i) A Brief History of the Scholarship

Despite the fact that so much of the preserved text of the *NJ* was not published until the early 1990s — including what would eventually prove to be the all-important section of the text that is preserved in fragmentary form at 4Q554 2 iii⁷⁷ — a general idea of the eschatological nature of *NJ* as a whole was established from the start. This was no doubt due to the fact that J.T. MILIK and M. BAILLET, the editors of the 1Q, 2Q and 5Q fragments in the official DJD series, were also well acquainted with the as-yet-unpublished 4Q*NJ* and 11Q*NJ* fragments.⁷⁸ In the 1955 DJD edition, MILIK wrote that the first seven fragments of 1Q32 “pourraient appartenir à une apocalypse en araméen, inspirée des derniers chapitres d’Ézéchiel, qui donne la description de la Jérusalem nouvelle, du Temple nouveau, du rituel.”⁷⁹ This assessment was amplified seven years later in BAILLET’S comments about 2Q24: “La description de la Jérusalem Nouvelle, qui reprend la Thora d’Ézéchiel, est une construction liturgique inspirée par le Temple de Jérusalem, mais se rapportant à Israël idéal

⁷⁷ See Chapter 1 for text, translation, and Notes on the Readings. We have also identified 4Q554 6-8 as part of the section of the *NJ* to which 4Q554 2 iii belongs, and consider 4Q554 7 to be part of the same section of the text as 4Q554 2 iii 19-22. On 4Q554 6, see §6, b, below.

⁷⁸ See the Introduction, §3.

⁷⁹ MILIK, DJD I, 134.

des temps messianiques.”⁸⁰ As for the nature of the Jerusalem so described in the *NJ*, R. MEYER suggested, “Es scheint mir daher passender, 5Q15 und die zugehörigen Fragmente unter dem weniger präjudizierenden Titel ‘Beschreibung des himmlischen Jerusalem’ zusammenzufassen.”⁸¹

The understanding that the *NJ* refers to eschatological events remains a fundamental element of the current scholarship on the text,⁸² which, as noted, particularly focuses on the portion of the *NJ* that is preserved at 4Q554 2 iii. Two scholars who have recently studied this topic in some depth are GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and J. FREY, both of whom assert that the subject of the *NJ* is the *eschatological* New Jerusalem. This is a critical definition, for it implies that the *NJ* is concerned specifically with the eschatological age and the events of that age.⁸³ Echoing the assessments of both BAILLET and MEYER, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ argues that the city of the *NJ* is a “blueprint of the celestial model in the hope that this will be constructed on the earth in the future” and that the time in which the heavenly model will

⁸⁰ BAILLET, DJD III, 84. Cf. also his earlier comments: “On est tente d’y voir une construction liturgique inspirée par le Temple de Jérusalem, mais se rapportant probablement à un Israël venir. Il serait difficile de nier le caractère idéal d’une telle élaboration, comme aussi sa provenance d’un milieu sacerdotal, spécialisé dans les choses du culte” (“Fragments,” 244).

⁸¹ “Der gegenwärtige Stand der Erforschung der in Palästina neu gefundenen hebräischen Handschriften: 48. Die sogenannten ‘kleinen Höhlen’ von Qumran,” [Review of M. BAILLET, *et alii*, *Les ‘petites grottes’ de Qumrân. Exploration de la falaise. Les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q, à 10Q. Le rouleau de cuivre* (DJD III; Oxford, 1962)] *TLZ* 90 (1965), cols. 331-342 at col. 339.

⁸² See, e.g., M.A. KNIBB, who lists the *NJ* as one of a group of Aramaic, non-sectarian Dead Sea texts in which eschatological beliefs are expressed (“Eschatology and Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment* (edd. P.W. FLINT and J.C. VANDERKAM; Leiden/Boston/Köln, 1999), 379-402 at 380-381).

⁸³ As opposed to a more general future-time expectation. As we discussed in Chapter 2, all expressions of the New Jerusalem are concerned with the future, but only some appear in a specifically eschatological context.

be copied on earth is the “messianic era.”⁸⁴

Two aspects of the *NJ* in particular inform GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ’ understanding that its New Jerusalem will appear in the eschatological age. First, he notes the “reduced sizes” of the blocks of houses and their “*caravanserei*-like structure,” elements that he argues are indicative of a deliberate organization of the city so as to house large groups of pilgrims in the eschatological age. Second, he cites the so-called “eschatological battle” against traditional enemies that appears at 4Q554 2 iii. For his part, FREY also cites this “future battle” as an indication that the *NJ* refers at least in part to the eschatological age, but warns that “we cannot specify ... the precise relation between the eschatological events mentioned and the construction or existence of the new Jerusalem and its temple.”⁸⁵ In other words, he observes that any conclusions made about eschatology that derive solely from 4Q554 2 iii are not necessarily applicable to the rest of the *NJ*,⁸⁶ including whether or not the New Jerusalem is a specifically eschatological structure. In fact, FREY wonders if the description of the walls and towers in 4Q554 2 ii (*i.e.*, in the column before 4Q554 2 iii) means that the New Jerusalem and its Temple are not eschatological and thus are not part of a new

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 609. In our view GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ is incorrect to postulate that the age in which the New Jerusalem will appear is the “messianic” age. A messiah is not mentioned in the *NJ*, nor is there any reason to think that any element of the text should be automatically associated with a messiah. Furthermore, the New Jerusalem topos is very rarely connected with the appearance of such a figure, and while it is true that in Revelation 21-22 the Lamb and the New Jerusalem are intimately connected, this is a result more of the author’s deliberate theological purpose than it is a characteristic of the topos in general.

⁸⁵ FREY, “Contexts,” 804-805.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 804.

creation,⁸⁷ but rather they belong to an indeterminate “expected future era.”⁸⁸

Let us examine in more detail the merits of the prevailing scholarly opinion about the eschatological expectations of the *NJ*. We will concentrate on what may be identified as the two foundations of this opinion, namely, the idea of the eschatological pilgrimage and the understanding that 4Q554 2 iii refers to an eschatological battle.

ii) The Eschatological Pilgrimage

J. LICHT first suggested that the open spaces between the city blocks of the New Jerusalem were meant to be set aside for pilgrims like those who, in the eschatological age (as in Zech 14:16), would flood the New Jerusalem during Sukkoth.⁸⁹ The idea that the blocks of houses themselves are of a *caravanserei*-type was offered by PUECH, who concluded that “les îlots semblent annoncer le type ‘caravansérail’ des époques plus tardives et comme avoir prévu les rassemblements - pèlerinages des croyants à la ville sainte.”⁹⁰ The idea that the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* might have been conceived as an eschatological centre for pilgrims is intriguing, but for several reasons cannot be maintained.

To begin, even if we grant that the urban design of the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* is indicative of a pilgrimage function, to move from this function to the thesis that such an arrangement of living quarters is indicative of a specifically *eschatological* pilgrimage event

⁸⁷ FREY’S reference to a new creation at this point in the argument is improper, since it is derived solely from parallels with other literature and is not based on the evidence of the text itself.

⁸⁸ FREY, “Contexts,” 801, note 4.

⁸⁹ LICHT, “Ideal,” 58-59.

⁹⁰ PUECH, “JN,” 102.

is unwarranted. Put another way, even if it could be determined that the houses or the open spaces of the *NJ* were designed for pilgrims who would travel to the New Jerusalem and its Temple,⁹¹ the evidence that would support such a conclusion does not also in itself permit the corollary that the time in which these persons would gather is the eschatological age, instead of a merely unspecified future-time situation. As was explained in Chapter 2 (§1, c), not all New Jerusalems are eschatological, nor is every event associated with the new city or the new Temple automatically an eschatological one. Accordingly, one cannot automatically assume that such an ingathering of pilgrims is necessarily a specific event of the eschatological age.

More to the point are other arguments that seriously question whether the design of the houses of the *NJ* reflect a pilgrimage function. For example, the idea of the city as a gathering-point for pilgrims raises some serious questions about the function of the city and Temple during non-festal times. Moreover, although *LICHT* points to the parallel with Zechariah 14, we should note that the New Jerusalem of this passage is of the “restored” type (*cf.* 14:10), and not the “monumental” type of new city like we find in the *NJ*. It seems odd that a design element characteristic of a certain type of New Jerusalem should be considered indicative of a specific function of this design element solely on the basis of the appearance of the function in a text (*i.e.*, Zechariah 14) that itself cannot possibly contain this design element.

The most important objection, however, to the idea of an eschatological pilgrimage is that there are other, more plausible ways to explain the peculiarities of the design of the

⁹¹ A theme that has been explored in depth by A. CAUSSE (see Chapter 2, §1, a).

New Jerusalem of the *NJ*, especially since this “*caravanserei*” function is unattested within the compass of Second Temple literature. It might be the case, for instance, that the streets and houses of the *NJ* are arranged in an orthogonal fashion less to fulfil a specific purpose and more as a result of the author’s vision of a well-ordered residential area that is in line with the straight lines, right angles, and regularly spaced and regularly shaped design features of the rest of the city. Alternately, as was concluded from our study of the matter in Chapter 2, the future ingathering of tribes and/or the people of Israel is a theme often found in the various articulations of the New Jerusalem topos,⁹² and it might be the case that the new city was meant to function exactly as the old one did, namely, as the place where the Temple stood, surrounded by the places where the people of God lived. A third option is that the city and its houses were intended to house the thousands of troops of an enormous army.⁹³ Again, though, even if it could be determined that one (or more) of these options was indeed the real function of the city, the question of whether these functions (and the city) were eschatological in nature is a separate one and must be established by other means.

The idea of the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* as a gathering-point for eschatological-era pilgrims is therefore very much open to question.

ii) The Eschatological Battle

The argument for the existence of an “eschatological battle” at 4Q554 2 iii is a

⁹² See Chapter 2, §3, c, and notes 149 and 150.

⁹³ In the light of GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ’ views on the “eschatological battle” that he thinks is the subject of 4Q554 2 iii, it is surprising that he does not also consider the uniformity of the houses more in terms of housing units for an army.

complicated matter, involving two separate premises: i) that a list of the names of nations that is found at 4Q554 2 iii refers to the traditional enemies of Israel who will do battle with Israel; and ii) that this battle, like the ingathering of the pilgrims to the *caravanserei*-type housing blocks, is a specifically *eschatological* event. In order to facilitate the discussion we have reproduced our translation of 4Q554 2 iii (+ 4Q554 7) from Chapter 1:

14. •*tyn l•n*[... the Kingdom of Babylon
15. after it; and the Kingdom of M[edia after it; and the Kingdom of ... after it; and the Kingdom of
16. the Kittim after it — all of them at the end, all of them [... And kingdoms
17. other [ones] great and powerful with them *m*[...
18. with them Edom and Moab and the Sons of Ammon[...
19. of Babylon, the land, all of it, which is not *ysr*[...]•[...
20. and they shall do evil to your descendants until the time when *y*[...]And I saw that •[
21. with all ‘*m*[...] kingdoms [...], which shall n[ot ...]•••••’ these *rb*[...
22. And nations will se[rve] them[...] *vac* Then the kin[gs ...

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ is correct in his observation that the names “Edom, Moab, and the sons of Ammon” represent a partial list of the traditional enemies of Israel. The essential issue, however, is the *function* in the text of this list of enemy nations. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ asserts that the list of nations in 4Q554 2 iii are those that are expected to face Israel in a final battle in the eschatological age. The general basis of his assertion is the eschatological “horizon” that the *NJ* supposedly shares with texts like the *Florilegium* and the *War Scroll*. In the *War Scroll*, for example, the list of nations “Edom, Moab, and the sons of Ammon” appear in the same order as they do in the *NJ*.⁹⁴ In the *War Scroll* there is also a description

⁹⁴ 1QM i 1.

of an eschatological battle, with Jerusalem as a sort of staging area for the army of the Sons of Light. From this sort of evidence springs the interpretation that the *NJ* preserves fragments of an eschatological battle.

This interpretation is incorrect, however. In contrast to the prevailing scholarly interpretation of this column, we posit that *not one but two* partial lists of foreign nations are preserved at 4Q554 2 iii. We also suggest that each list has a separate function in the text that provides a valuable clue of the character of the general eschatological expectations of the *NJ*. The first, very fragmentary list, which appears at lines 14-16, preserves in full only the name of “the Kittim,” although it appears that this name is possibly the last in a series of kingdoms. The second, more complete list contains the names of “Edom, Moab, and the sons of Ammon” at line 18, which are followed in line 19 by the name “Babylon.”⁹⁵ It is possible that the two lists are in some sense related,⁹⁶ but it would be wrong to assume this without any sort of investigation. Moreover, as will be demonstrated, other factors suggest that the lists are clearly distinct. Also, it will be established that there is no reason to interpret the information preserved in the *NJ* in the light of material in the *War Scroll*, especially since the correspondence between the texts is itself unsupported at anything more than a corroborative level. In fact, the context in which this lists of enemy nations appears in the *NJ* permits us to arrive at a far different conclusion as to the function of the list.

⁹⁵ See Chapter 2, *ad loc.*

⁹⁶ *Cf.* the עמרהון in line 18, although the reference could be to something in line 17.

b. The Eschatological Expectations of the *NJ*

We have demonstrated that the elements of the *NJ* that GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and FREY (among others) understand to be indicative of its eschatological perspective — *i.e.*, the pattern of houses for pilgrims in the eschatological age and the so-called “eschatological battle” — are in fact highly problematic. The question remains, therefore, as to the true character and meaning of the future-time expectations of the *NJ*.

In our view, there are four arguments that suggest that the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* is a specifically eschatological entity. The first two are circumstantial indications, while the last two are more substantive arguments. All four arguments help to determine the character of the eschatological expectations of the *NJ*.

i) The “Splendour of the New Jerusalem” Theme

The first argument involves one of the themes that was the subject of Chapter 2 (§3, a), the “Splendour of the New Jerusalem” theme. It was noted that the immense size of the monumental expressions of the topos — Ezekiel 40-48, the *Temple Scroll*, the *NJ*, and (to a degree) *SibOr 5* — need not be an indication that the new cities or Temples described therein could not be constructed. Indeed, there was ample historical precedent for gigantic walls and thus the sheer size of these new structures was not a *prima facie* indication that the authors of such texts never imagined that these structures could or would be built. The only exceptions to this are the New Jerusalems of the fifth *Sibylline Oracle* and of Revelation, both of which are too large to be built by human hands. Indeed, the latter city measures 12,000 stadia square (21:16), or roughly the size of Australia, but this city is explicitly said

to descend from heaven.

Gemstones and precious metals are an important element of the “Splendour of the New Jerusalem” theme. In some expressions of the topos the reference to jewels as a design feature was metaphorical or implied without further detail, but in most cases the jewels and metals were clearly understood to be elements with which parts of the city were constructed.⁹⁷ This is clearly the case with the *NJ*, where the walls and other structures are constructed with these precious substances (4Q554 2 ii 15, 2Q24 3). The conclusion was that in such cases it seemed only natural that the authors of texts understood these structures to be actively created by God, since the hundreds of thousands of tons of precious gold and rare gemstones that would be necessary for the task when the structures are monumental in stature simply do not exist in everyday life. It is unreasonable, then, to assume that these authors had anything in mind but God’s hand as the future-time agent of the creation of such cities.⁹⁸

One possible objection is that the argument just outlined leads to a paradox. On the one hand, the fact that the new city is festooned with gems and gold implies that it will necessarily be created by God at the end-time. On the other hand, since the *NJ* is intensely preoccupied with the measurements of the city and its structures gross and fine (even to the

⁹⁷ See Chapter 2, note 136 for examples.

⁹⁸ See R.A. BRIGGS, *Jewish Temple Imagery in the Book of Revelation* (SBL 10; New York, 1999), 168; GAINES, “Eschatological Jerusalem,” 230.

To be sure, God’s hand as a future-time agent is part of *every* expression of the New Jerusalem or New Temple. Often this agency is explicit, as we find when YHWH makes promises to restore Jerusalem (Isaiah) or when God is envisioned to make a “new creation” (*Jubilees*); but sometimes, too, the agency is merely understood, as we find in *SibOr* 5. The difference that we are highlighting is between, on the one hand, the general idea that God is implicitly behind any future restoration or reversal of fortune that includes the appearance of the New Jerusalem, and, on the other hand, the deliberate creation of the New Jerusalem or New Temple (either in the future or, having been created in the past, to appear in the future).

point that the measurements are quite often given twice, in both rods and cubits), the implication is that the urban plan of the *NJ* was meant as a blueprint and thus its New Jerusalem was meant to be constructed by human hands. As was expounded in some detail in Chapter 2, however, there are many other reasons why New Jerusalems or New Temples might be measured so carefully.⁹⁹ As a result, the strict attention to detail exhibited in *NJ* does not necessarily mean that its author could not also have held the view that his New Jerusalem and New Temple were to be created or constructed by God.

ii) The “Humbling of the Nations” Theme

The nations of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, which are part of the second list of nations of 4Q554 2 iii, often appear in the biblical literature as traditional enemies of Israel. In cases where these nations appear in the context of a historical (past-time) account, they are usually mentioned simply as part of the historical record, and generally identified individually and not in a series.¹⁰⁰

The names of Edom, Moab, and Ammon also appear as enemies of Israel time and again in the prophetic literature, and often in the same context of future-time, reversal-of-fortune expectation in which are set many of the prophetic expressions of the New Jerusalem topos. At times, each nation is mentioned separately,¹⁰¹ and of the three nations Edom seems

⁹⁹ See §3, e.

¹⁰⁰ *E.g.*, Edom/Edomites: Gen 25:30; 27:40, *etc.*; Moab/Moabites: Gen 19:37; Deut 1:5, *etc.*; Ammon: Gen 19:38; Judg 10:9-11:33, *etc.*

¹⁰¹ *E.g.*, Isa 34:1-35:10 [against Edom]; Obidiah [against Edom]; Ezek 35:1-15 [against Edom].

to have garnered the lion's share of the prophetic ire.¹⁰² More often, however, one, two, or all three nations are linked together in a series of long oracular pronouncements against foreign oppressors, where they are often joined by other traditional enemies of Israel, such as Egypt, Philistia, and Tyre.¹⁰³ In such prophetic pronouncements the names Edom, Moab, and Ammon very rarely appear together in exactly this order.¹⁰⁴

In all of these prophetic contexts, the nations traditionally hostile to Israel, including Edom, Moab, and the sons of Ammon, appear not as enemies who will fight Israel in an eschatological battle, but rather as the recipients of an expected future-time reversal of fortune, a state of affairs that sometimes includes defeat in war and sometimes includes oppression and desolation by calamities both natural and man-made. In essence, those who

¹⁰² See B.C. CRESSON, "The Condemnation of Edom in Postexilic Judaism," *The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays. Studies in Honor of William Franklin Stinespring* (ed. J.M. EFIRD; Durham, 1972), 125-148.

¹⁰³ E.g., Jer 46:2-28 [against Egypt], 47 [against Philistia], 48 [against Moab], 49:1-6 [against Ammon], 49:7-22 [against Moab]; Ezek 25:3-7 [against Ammon], 25:8-11 [against Moab], 25:12-14 [against Edom], 25:15-17 [against Philistia], 26:1-6 [against Tyre]; Amos 1:3-5 [against Damascus], 1:6-8 [against Philistia], 1:9-10 [against Tyre], 1:11-12 [against Edom], 1:13-15 [against Ammon], 2:1-3 [against Moab]; Zeph 2:8-12 [against both Moab and Ammon].

¹⁰⁴ See our discussion of this important below. In fact, in none of the series of prophecies against the nations listed in the previous note do the oracles against Edom, Moab, and Ammon appear in this order. We find the order "Edom, Moab, and Ammon" at Deut 2:1-23, where the order of the names (presented in a review of history) is reflective of the order of the nations through which the Israelites passed as they fled Egypt, and at 2 Sam 8:12, in the context of one of the many places where David's conquests are listed (par. 1 Chr 18:11). We also see the order at Jer 25:21, as part of a very long list of nations that will be destroyed. In addition, the list of the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon and several other nations is found at Jer 27:3 in a historical context, as the members of the coalition against Babylon.

We encounter a reference to Edom, Moab, and Ammon (in this order) at Dan 11:41, a very important passage which we will discuss in detail below (see §4 and the Conclusion) and the only biblical passage where these nations appear in this order in an eschatological context, although the order also appears in the first column of 1QM (see, again, §4, below).

It might be that the primacy of Edom in the later instances of lists preserving the order "Edom, Moab, and Ammon" is a result of Ezek 36:5, which asserts that YHWH has spoken against Edom above all. More generally, it might be a reflection of the particular hatred that Israel had towards Edom, likely (so CRESSON, "The Condemnation of Edom") as a result of Edom's participation in the sack of Jerusalem and the loss of the First Temple and the infiltration of Edomite refugees to the area south of Judah (where they came to be known as Idumaeans) as a result of Nabataean expansion into what hitherto had been Edomite territory.

have caused Israel to experience these things in the past will in the future experience these things themselves. In the light of the evidence of the prophetic books, this second list of nations in 4Q554 2 iii seems less a roster of traditional enemies on a battlefield of the future and more a list of nations whose past actions against Israel have guaranteed a divinely pronounced reversal of fortune.

In 4Q554 2 iii line 20 there is the phrase “and they shall do evil to your descendants until the time when” There is no way to be certain whether the subject of this action is Edom, Moab, or the sons of Ammon of line 18, although it would not be too far-fetched to link these traditional enemies of Israel with this reference to oppressive behaviour. The subject of the action might also be Babylon (line 19),¹⁰⁵ a nation that tends not to be included in the aforementioned lists of prophetic oracles against foreign nations, but is nevertheless a noted oppressor of Israel in the biblical record and the nation responsible for the destruction of Jerusalem and the First Temple.¹⁰⁶ It also might be the case that Babylon should be linked with Edom, Moab, and the sons of Ammon as the collective agents of this oppression. What is especially odd, though, is the presence of the temporal element in the claim of 4Q554 2 iii 20, in that the phrase “until the time when” suggests a cessation of the oppression at a specific point in time. On the assumption that this second list of foreign nations is the subject of the action, there is no reason to believe that what is being described

¹⁰⁵ Properly, *בבל*, with the word or phrase that preceded this no longer extant. Note *SibOr* 3.160, which speaks of “Assyrian” Babylon (= Assur of Babylon (?)).

¹⁰⁶ The place of Babylon in the prophetic books is multi-dimensional. We find it as the subject of a historical record (Jeremiah 39, Isaiah 39), as part of an (*ex eventu* ?) prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem (Jeremiah 25), as the subject of a mocking lament in a review of history (Isaiah 47), and as one of the nations against whom an oracle of destruction has been uttered (Isaiah 13).

here is a battle of any type, and all the more so since nothing in the vocabulary of 4Q554 2 iii (or 4Q554 7) appears to refer to a military-style conflict.

While future-time battles are by no means unknown in the context of the expressions of the New Jerusalem that were the subject of our analysis of the topos in Chapter 2,¹⁰⁷ more common was the “Humbling of the Nations” theme, that is, the foreign nations that had once been Jerusalem’s oppressors would in the future stand before the city, humbled. This conclusion certainly accords with the previous observation that, in the context of prophetic oracles against the nations, the latter would in the future experience a dramatic reversal of fortune. The presence of this element of the homage of the nations in the articulations of the New Jerusalem topos, of course, does not preclude a previous battle in which these enemies are vanquished, but there is nothing to say that such a battle must occur only in the eschatological age. As was noted, however, the issue is not relevant, since we find no direct evidence of any battle in 4Q554 2 iii. Moreover, the last line of this very fragmentary column preserves the statement that “the nations will serve them.”¹⁰⁸ To be sure, there is no way to say with perfect certainty that ܢܘܡܝܢ of line 22 are the same as those in the second list of foreign nations in line 18 and/or the unnamed subject of the action in line 20, nor is the referent of the pronoun “them” immediately apparent. Considering the sum total of the aforementioned evidence, however, and especially the reference to a cessation of oppression (which implies a reversal of fortune), it appears that the nations of lines 18 and 19 are these foreign, oppressing nations and that the people of Israel are the ones whom they once

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter 2, §3.

¹⁰⁸ On the Aramaic verb ܢܘܡܝܢ in this context, see Chapter 1, Note on the Reading at 4Q554 2 iii 9.

oppressed but will now serve.

The second argument, therefore, follows from this conclusion about the lack of evidence within the text of the *NJ* itself for an “eschatological battle.” Rather, there is the high probability that the *NJ* instead contained something along the lines of the reversal-of-fortune “Humbling of the Nations” theme that is common to many expressions of the New Jerusalem topos. In essence, we understand the second list of nations to represent a partial roster of the enemies of Israel, who in the future will no longer threaten or oppress its people, but will instead come to the New Jerusalem to render homage. The problem with this understanding as it relates to the question of the eschatological character of the *NJ* is that the “Humbling of the Nations” theme is not necessarily an eschatological theme, since it appears in both future-time and eschatological contexts.¹⁰⁹ Clearly, then, this argument might be considered circumstantial evidence if the eschatological setting of the *NJ* can be established by other means.

iii) “The End” as an Eschatological Term

The third argument centers on the concept and meaning of the term “the end,” which occurs in the *NJ* at 4Q554 2 iii 16. The use of “the end” as an eschatological term is common to both Second-Temple Jewish literature and early Christian literature, not excepting the

¹⁰⁹ For examples, refer to our discussion in Chapter 2, §3, b.

Dead Sea Scrolls,¹¹⁰ where it often (but not always) has an eschatological connotation.¹¹¹ Indeed, a significant amount of the revelatory literature of the period, including portions of Daniel, was intensely concerned with calculating the time when the end of history would come about.¹¹² Moreover, as S. TALMON advances, the concept of “the end” as an eschatological reality was quite important to the Qumran community.¹¹³ He argues that in a number of core texts the sectarians understood time to be periodized into a system of ages that terminated in “the end of days” (אַחֲרֵי־יָמִים) that eventually came to be associated with a discrete supra-historical epoch in the future. In another study, A. STUEDEL demonstrates that this expression “the end of days” refers to a relatively short period¹¹⁴ of time — sometimes in a historical sense, sometimes in a future-time one — that in a number of sectarian texts was thought to immediately precede the advent of the eschatological age.¹¹⁵ An exhaustive history of the usage of the idea of “the end” in the diverse literature of this

¹¹⁰ E. QIMRON, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta, 1986), 95 (צָק = “epoch”), 103 (קָצִים = “periods”).

¹¹¹ M. SMITH, “462. 4QNarrative C,” *Qumran Cave 4. XIV. Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XIX; Oxford, 1995), 195-209 at 203, citing as examples of the word’s being used in an eschatological connotation 1QpHab vii 2, 7, 12 and 4QpHos^a i 9, 12).

¹¹² Cf., e.g., the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, *Jubilees 23*, portions of *4 Ezra* and *2 Bar*, sections of the *Sibylline Oracles*, and so on. Note also 1QpHab 7.6-13, interpreting Hab 2:3, which assures that there is a predetermined end-time whose arrival will not be delayed.

¹¹³ S. TALMON, “Waiting for the Messiah — The Conceptual Universe of the Qumran Covenanters,” *The World of Qumran from Within* (Jerusalem/Leiden, 1989), 273-330 at 294-297.

¹¹⁴ J.E. GOLDINGAY, *Daniel* (WBC 30; Dallas, 1987), 48, contrasts the phrase with words like צָק, which instead specify a single moment in time.

¹¹⁵ For a discussion of the phrase as it appears in the literature, see A. STEUDEL, “אַחֲרֵי־יָמִים in the Texts from Qumran,” *RevQ* 16 (1993-1995), 225-246. The phrase does not appear in any of the Aramaic Dead Sea texts, although we find the Aramaic form at Dan 2:28 (and the Hebrew at Dan 10:14). A few of the texts she mentions might have some bearing on the *NJ*; we will discuss this possibility in more detail below. See also J.J. COLLINS, “The Expectation of the End in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (edd. C.A. EVANS and P.W. FLINT; Grand Rapids, 1997), 74-90 at 79-82.

period is well beyond the scope of this chapter, but as a general rule it is employed, especially in its apocalyptic contexts, to refer to the end of the present age,¹¹⁶ that is, the point that marks the transition from the happenings and happenstance of human history to the expected events of the extra-historical eschatological epoch.

At 4Q554 2 iii 16, there are the words כלהון בסוף כלהון, a construction that has been translated in various ways.¹¹⁷ The key word is the Aramaic בסוף, meaning “in the end” or “at the end.” In biblical Hebrew סוף appears in the later literature as a rare synonym of the more common word קץ,¹¹⁸ while in biblical Aramaic these nouns (as סוף and קצת), while not especially frequent, are found with the roughly the same regularity,¹¹⁹ and the word סוף also appears in several of the Aramaic Dead Sea texts.¹²⁰ The Aramaic סוף appears five times in the Hebrew Bible, all in Daniel: it is used once to signify the end of a particular narrative account (7:28), twice to express a spatial relationship (לסוף כל ארעא at 4:8 and לסוף ארעא at 4:19), and twice again to indicate a temporal relationship (עד סופא at 6:27 and 7:26). Of these five instances, the concern of this section is with the temporal function of the word סוף as it is employed at Dan 7:26, which represents the only place where it appears in the context of a revelatory vision.

¹¹⁶ COLLINS, “The Expectation of the End,” 82-85.

¹¹⁷ See Chapter 1, Note on the Reading at 4Q554 2 iii 16.

¹¹⁸ BDB, 693.

¹¹⁹ BDB, 1104, 1111.

¹²⁰ But five times in the 11Q *Targum to Job* (11Q10 i 5, xxi 2, xxv 1, xxviii 4, and xxxiv 1). There is one possible instance of the word in the pseudo-Danielic literature, at 4Q243 26 1, but recently J.J. COLLINS has argued for a reading of סוף כניניהן [סוף כניניהן], which he translates as “...their numbers...” (“*Pseudo-Daniel Revisted*,” *RevQ* 17 (1996), 111-135 at 122, 125).

Daniel 7 is concerned with the sequence of the four empires of world history, which are symbolized by four great beasts, and above all with the rise and fall of the fourth and final world-empire. The entire schema of history is presented to Daniel in the form of a dream-vision (7:1-14) that is subsequently explained to him by an angelic interpreter (7:16-27). In the explanation Daniel is told that the fourth beast/empire will be more terrible than its predecessors and will trample over the world (7:23-24); it will alter the law and the times, and it will hold “the saints” in his thrall for a specified period of time (7:25). The fourth beast’s days are numbered, however. Daniel is told that the court will deprive the beast of its sovereignty (7:26), and the power and greatness will pass for all time to the saints (7:27). Most modern scholarship understands the fourth beast/empire to refer to the Greek successor kingdoms to Alexander’s empire, and in particular to Antiochus Epiphanes, the Seleucid king who occupied Jerusalem and the Temple and persecuted a portion of the population of the city, and whose actions precipitated the Maccabean Revolt. This identification with Antiochus is crucial, because it enables us to examine the content of the interpretation of the dream-vision and, on the basis of what is known of the history of this period, draw the line between *ex eventu* revelation (*i.e.*, past history presented as future prediction) and pure eschatological expectation. In Daniel 7 this line appears at 7:26, wherein we find the word קִיּוֹם. The term “the end” therefore functions as one way in which the text makes clear the conceptual boundary between the historical past and the eschatological future.

Another use of the term “the end” that might help to clarify its function in 4Q554 2 iii is to be found at Dan 11:40-46, which is composed in Hebrew rather than in the Aramaic of Daniel 7. Daniel 11 consists mostly of an early Maccabean-era *ex eventu* review of

history, and one of the questions surrounding the chapter is whether or not the section containing verses 40-46 is part of this review or rather is part of an eschatological expectation.¹²¹ This section is introduced by the phrase בְּעֵת קֵץ , and the vague character of the political and military actions of these verses, which is in stark contrast to the *ex eventu*-style precision that distinguishes the way in which the events of Dan 11:2-39 are presented, suggests that 11:40-46 are eschatological predictions. What makes this observation especially relevant to the study of the use of the term “the end” in the *NJ* is the fact that Dan 11:41 is one of the very few places that preserves the list of the three nations in the order Edom, Moab, and Ammon — the very same list of nations that we encounter in 4Q554 2 iii. In fact, the place of these three nations in the action of Dan 11:40-46 is very unclear: they play no part in the action until this section, where suddenly we are told that these three nations will somehow survive the attack of “the king” (who is the subject of 11:21-39), although Egypt will not be so lucky (11.42). To be sure, Edom, Moab, and Ammon are presented neither as oppressors of Israel nor as nations that pay homage to and serve Israel. At the same time, though, neither are they enemies of Israel who will do battle with the people of God in the eschatological age. Despite the lack of context, there is the sense that these three nations have been singled out for an unknown eschatological purpose, even though they are not mentioned again in Daniel.

To summarize the argument, the appearance of the term “the end” in the *NJ*¹²² at

¹²¹ For a concise discussion of the issue, see GOLDINGAY, *Daniel*, *ad loc.*

¹²² Note also that although they are referring to what they understand to be this so-called “eschatological battle,” GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and TIGCHELAAR (DJD XXIII, 308) state that this reference to “at the end of all” [their translation] at 4Q554 2 iii 16 indicates an eschatological context.

4Q554 2 iii 16 strongly suggests that the context of the preserved portion of the column that follows is an eschatological one. This is argued on the grounds that the specific term “the end” often has an eschatological function in much of the revelatory literature of the period.¹²³

iv) The Four-Kingdom Schema

The fourth and final argument involves the first, very fragmentary list of nations that appears in 4Q554 2 iii 14-16, a list that seems to consist of a roster of “kingdoms” and which appears to end with “the (kingdom of) the Kittim.” The theory will be advanced that this list of kingdoms is not part of a grand roster of end-time enemies that either will do battle with Israel (*contra* GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ) or will first gather to form a final great army of darkness (as we find in the *War Scroll*). Instead, we propose that this first list, which is separate from the list of nations at 4Q554 2 iii 18-19, is one of several examples found throughout Jewish literature of the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods of the four-kingdom historiographic schema, which was later expanded in some texts to a five-kingdom schema.¹²⁴

In brief, and without raising the complicated issue of its origins in the biblical,

¹²³ In fact, the general idea of the end of history is a historiographic device that also appears quite regularly in literature that is concerned with the events of the eschatological period.

¹²⁴ See Daniel 2; Daniel 7; *SibOr* 4.49-101 (49-114 if Rome is included in the scheme); *Jos., Ant.*, 10.203-210; *4 Ezra* 11-12; and *2 Baruch* 36-40. We do not include the non-Jewish antecedents of the topos, nor the Jewish texts that exhibit kingdom-schemata other than four or five. Note also that the other common means of periodizing history are the schemata of seven periods or ten periods (rather than kingdoms). On the topic of the four kingdoms, see the standard commentaries on Daniel, the many studies on the four kingdoms of Daniel 2, and especially: J.W. SWAIN, “The Theory of the Four Monarchies: Opposition History under the Roman Empire,” *CPh* 35 (1940), 1-21; D. FLUSSER, “The Four Empires in the Fourth Sibyl and the Book of Daniel,” *IOS* 2 (1972), 148-175; G.F. HASEL, “The Four World Empires of Daniel 2 against Its Near Eastern Environment,” *JSOT* 12 (1979), 17-30; D. MENDELS, “The Five Empires: A Note on a Propagandistic *Topos*,” *AJPh* 102 (1981), 330-337; and J.H. WALTON, “The Four Kingdoms of Daniel,” *JETS* 29 (1986), 25-36.

classical, or Zoroastrian literature, the four-empire schema is perhaps best known from its expression in Dan 2:31-45, in which Daniel the seer interprets the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar's dream of a great statue of gold, silver, bronze, and iron/clay as a series of kingdoms that have held sway over the world. The dream ends with a great stone (hewn from a mountain but not by human hands) that crashes into the statue's feet and destroys it. This Daniel interprets to be the kingdom of God, whose arrival signals the end of all earthly kingdoms. There are many variations on the theme, but in general the periodization of history into a four-kingdom schema is a historiographic device, whereby human history past, present, and future and the events therein are understood to occupy a discrete measure of time that will, at the appointed time, give way to the eschatological age and its events.¹²⁵

If this first list of nations is indeed a list of kingdoms deliberately fashioned into a periodizing schema,¹²⁶ then it is quite probable that, as with the four-kingdom and five-kingdom schemata elsewhere,¹²⁷ the end of this series of historical kingdoms in the *NJ* is to

¹²⁵ The periodization of history is present in other Dead Sea Scrolls, but almost always in the form of ten-period or seven-period schemata. In addition to the schemata of the certainly non-sectarian *I En* 10, the *Animal Apocalypse*, the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, *Jubilees*, and *TestLevi* 16-17, note also the 490 years implicit in the chronology of the *Damascus Document*, the ten-period schema of 11QMelchizedek, possibly 4Q387 (where "ten jubilees of years" are mentioned at 4Q387 3 ii 3-4), and finally 4Q180 and 4Q181, the so-called "Peshar on the Periods Made by God," of which sadly only a few bits survive. On 4Q180 and "tablets," see below, re the discussion on 4Q537.

¹²⁶ On our reconstruction of the first few lines of 4Q554 2 iii, see Chapter 1 and the Notes on the Reading at that point.

¹²⁷ Besides the *NJ*, the only place where the four-kingdom schema is found among the previously unknown Qumran fragments (*i.e.*, not including the Qumran fragments of *Jubilees*, most of what we know as *I Enoch*, and portions the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*) is the Aramaic text labeled 4Q*Four Kingdoms*, which is preserved in two partially overlapping copies, 4Q552 and 4Q553, and which contains perhaps part of a direct speech and almost certainly an (angelic?) interpretation of a dream or vision (for the text, see EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*, 71-73 (where the text is called 4Q547 and is assumed to be from one copy only), and GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, 1102-1107). The relevant portion of this short and fragmentary document, which in our view seems like nothing less than another Pseudo-Daniel pseudepigraphon from Qumran, is an interpretation that is given concerning the meaning of four trees. The trees, we are told, are kingdoms, and although three kingdoms are mentioned before the text breaks off, the name of only the first,

be followed by the eschatological age. We do not know the contents of the beginning of the schema as it appears in 4Q554 2 iii, since that portion of the text has been lost. Nevertheless, we have offered a reasonable reconstruction of the name of “the kingdom of Media” in line 15 (which, as we describe in more detail a little further on, is itself a significant name), and the list seems to end with the kingdom of the Kittim. This last name represents a potentially critical piece of evidence. “Kittim” is derived from Citium in Cyprus, a term that refers variously to the Greeks¹²⁸ or to the Romans,¹²⁹ both of whom came to Judaea from the western sea, from the direction of Cyprus. The salient point is that the term “Kittim” in the literature of this period always refers either to Greece or to Rome, and never to any other kingdom.¹³⁰ In all the four-kingdom or five-kingdom scenarios, Greece or Rome is the last kingdom in the series before the advent of the eschatological age. Accordingly, one should understand “the kingdom of the Kittim” in its final position in this list of kingdoms as a clear indication that the author of the *NJ* was employing a kingdom-schema of some kind. In

Babylon, is preserved. That we only know the name of the first kingdom of *4QFour Kingdoms* is unfortunate, for if we knew the names of the others we might be able to date the text provisionally.

There are several reasons why we would classify *4QFour Kingdoms* as a Daniel pseudepigraphon: the text is in Aramaic, like the other Qumran Daniel pseudepigrapha; it in part describes a dream or vision and its interpretation; the subject of the dream or vision seems to be a king (4Q552 1 i 8) who is addressed in the vocative (as indicated by the use of the emphatic state of the noun (כִּימָר); cf. Daniel 2-7, *passim*); it seems to contain the four-kingdom schema (cf. Daniel 2); and the reference to trees as kingdoms might be paralleled in King Nebuchadnezzar’s dream that he was a tree (Daniel 4).

¹²⁸ The label “the Greeks,” of course, was simply the way the authors of this literature variously understood those persons i) who spoke Greek (but were actually Macedonian officers, soldiers, and followers of Alexander); ii) who, later, were the heirs to Alexander’s empire, especially those who held the reins of power in the successor kingdoms, not excepting the Antigonids, who held Macedon and Achaia through the time of the Maccabees until Rome finally tired of their endless political and military intriguing and made the entire area a Roman province in 146 BCE; and iii) those who acted like Greeks, spoke like Greeks, and adopted Greek culture and customs.

¹²⁹ COLLINS, *Apocalypticism*, 100.

¹³⁰ See, e.g., Dan 11:30; *Jub* 24.28-29, 37.11; 1QpHab *passim*; 1QM i; etc.

addition, from this observation it may be concluded that the events that are described following the name of the last kingdom in this list are very probably events pertaining to the eschatological age.¹³¹

v) Conclusions

We have raised serious objections to the prevailing scholarly understanding that the *NJ* contains references to an eschatological battle or to an urban design that is specifically meant for pilgrims in the eschatological age. Partly as a result of our objections and partly as a result of an analysis of the text itself, we have provided four different arguments suggesting that the *NJ* is concerned, at least in part, with eschatological events. On the basis of these arguments the following conclusions may be offered.

First, a connexion may now be drawn between the eschatological context of the description of the New Jerusalem that dominates the preserved portions of the *NJ* and the eschatological material that we find at 4Q554 2 iii. FREY'S concern was that conclusions made about eschatology that are based on the material in this column of the text are not necessarily applicable to the rest of the *NJ*.¹³² In this context the first argument about the eschatological implications of the magnificent appearance of the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* helps to clarify the matter, since it provides this definite point of contact between 4Q554 2 iii and the description of the New Jerusalem. The New Jerusalem of the *NJ* is the city that

¹³¹ There is always the sense in all kingdom- or period-schemata that the eschatological age follows the last of the kingdoms or periods, and that the point after the last kingdom represents the division between the historical age and the supra-historical one. See note 133, below.

¹³² FREY, "Contexts," 804.

God will construct or cause to appear in the eschatological age for the people of Israel, a magnificent structure that is the focus of the cultic activity in the new age and to which the nations of world will render homage.

Second, the problem concerning the second argument and the question of the eschatological nature of the *NJ* is now ameliorated. We previously postulated that the reversal-of-fortune “Humbling of the Nations” theme common to many expressions of the New Jerusalem topos also appears in the *NJ* at 4Q554 2 iii. We also remarked that since the theme appears in the literature in both future-time and eschatological contexts, its context at 4Q554 2 iii needed to be determined by other means. The presence of the third and fourth arguments have now established that the correct context for the “Humbling of the Nations” theme as it appears in the *NJ* is the eschatological age.

Third, an important temporal sequence of events has been identified. The context of the four-kingdom schema is always historical; as was mentioned in the discussion in Chapter 2 of the technique of *ex eventu* prophecy, the schema is a historiographic device by which past events are situated in relation to present circumstances and future expectations.¹³³ The context of the “Humbling of the Nations” theme, as the second element in a reversal-of-fortune prediction, is always future-time by nature and, in the case of the *NJ*, specifically eschatological. Although the text of 4Q554 2 iii is very fragmentary, it nevertheless preserves the elements of both the four-kingdom schema and the “Humbling of the Nations” theme in an appropriate temporal order, moving from a review of history to a forecast of

¹³³ Of course, the review of history can (and often does) encompass both the past and the future, but never the eschatological, which by definition is supra-historical. Most periodizing schemata, for example, will contain reference to the present period that has yet to end. In this way the schema traverses past, present, and future.

eschatological happenings. In between the two, the term “the end” functions as an indication of the switch from the *ex eventu* historical context to the eschatological, supra-historical one.

Fourth, the true nature of the eschatological horizon of the *NJ* may now be identified. Even though the *NJ* has not been preserved in its entirety, from the extant text it is clear that the *NJ*, as is typical in many other expressions of the New Jerusalem topos, is concerned with a general reversal of fortune that would see the new city and Temple as the center of the earth in the eschatological age. This concern is manifested in two senses in the *NJ*. From the perspective of the cultus, the Temple of the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* is the eschatological Temple,¹³⁴ the place where the priesthood operates, where the sacrifices are performed, and where the deity resides.¹³⁵ From a historical-political perspective, we find an intense concern with situating the past history and present situation of Israel in the context of future anticipation. History is envisioned to be finite and is marked by discrete periods within which certain kingdoms claim ascendancy in their turn. It may even be the case that the *NJ* contained some extra descriptions of historical events (*cf.* the reference in 4Q554 6 to מלכי עממיה (“the kings of the peoples”)), although the vague and impersonal nature of this term might indicate an eschatological rather than historical context. Whatever the case, the end of history signals the beginning of the eschatological age, wherein the *NJ* now expects those nations that once waged war on Israel and oppressed its people to serve the people of the city of the end-time. If ever the *NJ* contained a description of a final,

¹³⁴ So GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII, 308, with reference to the 11Q18 fragments.

¹³⁵ Even if this last is not explicit, the view that the Holy of Holies is the seat of the deity must be assumed on the basis of its function in the First and Second Temples and, perhaps most importantly, in light of Ezek 43:1-7, where the glory of God returns to the New Jerusalem and the Temple.

eschatological battle, no mention of it survives.

And what of the specific function of the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* in the context of these eschatological anticipations? Several problems have already been raised with the view that the new city was meant to operate as the focus for pilgrims in the end-time, including the question of the purpose of the city outside its festal functions. Keeping in mind the fundamental reversal-of-fortune character of the New Jerusalem topos, we must conclude that the New Jerusalem was meant to function as the urban centre of the people of God in the eschatological age. Its enormous walls and massive gates are indicative of its strength and prestige, and its precious stones and metals are its glory. According to CHYUTIN, the area enclosed by the walls is an astonishing 308 square stadia, enough to contain 240 blocks of 120 houses each, for a total of 28,800 houses.¹³⁶ Whether or not this number is precise is not the point. Clearly, the new city was meant to house a population into the hundreds of thousands in a fully urban setting, with alleys between the houses (for pedestrian traffic?) and broad avenues and streets for commerce. The ideal nature of its orthogonal layout should not obscure the fact that the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* is a city that is meant to be lived in. It is the future, living city, the home for the people of God, and it contains the place where God will dwell.

4. The Eschatology of the NJ and the Temple Scroll, the Florilegium, and the War Scroll

¹³⁶ CHYUTIN, *NJ Scroll*, 85 and 92. Different ways of arranging the houses, alleys, streets, and blocks can result in different numbers, but the fact still remains that the walls of the city stretch for thirty-five by twenty-four stadia (4Q554 1 i 11 - ii 10). The number 28,800 is significant to CHYUTIN, for if we accept this number and posit an average of five person per house, we arrive at a population of 144,000, which of course is the same as the famous number mentioned at Rev 7:4-8. But this figure does not include priests (109). Moreover, each house has twenty-two couches (5Q15 1 ii 11), a figure that seems excessive for five persons.

In this section we will evaluate the merits of the prevailing scholarly opinion about the degree of correspondence between the eschatological expectations of the *NJ* and those of the *Temple Scroll*, the *Florilegium*, and the *War Scroll*. As a result of our investigation in the previous section, we must now question this scholarly opinion on several points, not least of which is the understanding that the *NJ* and the *War Scroll* correspond in reference to their shared anticipation of an eschatological war.

The *Temple Scroll* is a text that already has been examined in some detail. In Chapter 2 (§3, b) the *Temple Scroll* was discussed in the context of the “monumental” type of the expressions of the New Jerusalem topos, while in an earlier section in this chapter (§2) it was documented that, insofar as the evidence suggested, the correspondence between the New Jerusalem *NJ* and the New Temple that is the subject of most of the *Temple Scroll* is minimal with respect both to the architectural design of their buildings and other structures and to the details of the Temple complex and its operation. That this Temple is understood to be a future-time construction is clear,¹³⁷ but the fact that it is not specifically an eschatological entity is also clear. As a result, one cannot automatically look to information about this

¹³⁷ We disagree strongly with GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ about the present-time nature of the Temple complex that is the subject of most of the *Temple Scroll* (see the quotation that is the subject of note 75, above). Instead, we understand this Temple as a New Temple in the light of our research in Chapter 2 on the phenomenon of New Jerusalems and New Temples as a future-time response to a present-time dissatisfaction. We argue there that while not every appearance of the physical structure of the New Jerusalem or the New Temple is an eschatological event, in every case it is a future-time event. That the concept of the New Jerusalem or New Temple — communicated, as it often is, via prophecy, revelation, oracular statements or (in the case of the *Temple Scroll*) by the word of God himself — also functions to some degree in a present-time capacity cannot blind us to its fundamentally future-time character.

It is possible, however, that the translator of this passage missed the precise point that GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ was making in Spanish. We suggest this only because had the translator written “present age” (which extends into the future and ends with the eschatological age) instead of simply “present” (which is distinct from the future), GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ’ statement would have been far more comprehensible to us. Unfortunately, to the best of our knowledge the Spanish original of this encyclopaedia article has not been published.

particular Temple as a source of potential correspondence concerning the question of a common eschatological outlook between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*.

One of the most startling facts about the *Temple Scroll* is that it describes not one but two Temples. At 11Q19 xxix 9-10 there is reference to the other Temple, this one clearly the eschatological one, since it will be created by God himself, and עד יום הברייה (xxix 9).¹³⁸ This “day of creation” must be understood in the light of the “new creation” of Isa 65:18, *I En* 72.1, *Jub* 1.29 and (in a later text) Rev 22:1, that is, as a discrete event that marks the complete end of the old and the beginning of the new.¹³⁹ Nothing more is said about this eschatological Temple: it is clearly not pre-existent and does not descend from heaven, but of its dimensions or appearance we can only guess. That this Temple is understood to replace the interim one legislated by the rest of the *Temple Scroll* seems to be the reasonable conclusion; perhaps the dimensions and appearance of both Temples were also understood to be the same. Beyond this the lack of detail about this eschatological Temple prevents further comment.

What can be stated, then, is that the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* and the second and final Temple of the *Temple Scroll* are eschatological structures that will be created by God and that are neither pre-existent nor heavenly in origin. Although there are many differences between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*, it seems that in the matter of these broad similarities

¹³⁸ See also the arguments of MAIER, who connects the reference to the covenant with Jacob at Bethel (11Q19 xxix 10) to the jubilee-schema in Jubilees and Josephus' *Antiquities* (“Temple,” *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 926).

¹³⁹ Thus we cannot agree with WACHOLDER, who argues that the עד means “during” rather than “until” (*Dawn of Qumran*, 22-24). On the connexion between 11QT xxix 8-9 and *Jub* 1.29, see WACHOLDER, “Jubilees as the Super-Canon. Torah-Admonition versus Torah-Commandment,” *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge, 1995* (edd. M. BERNSTEIN, et alii; STDJ 23; Leiden/New York/Köln, 1997), 195-211 at 210-211.

the two texts shared this (admittedly basic) eschatological outlook.¹⁴⁰ That being said, even the essential fact that the author or redactor of the *Temple Scroll* expected an eschatological final Temple instead of the eschatological New Jerusalem and New Temple that one encounters in the *NJ* means that their specific eschatological expectations were radically different.¹⁴¹

An eschatological Temple also plays a role in the Qumran text known as the *Florilegium* (4Q174).¹⁴² In 4Q174 iii, in the context of 2 Sam 7:10-11, there is a reference to a Temple that will be constructed באחרית הימים, a structure with which the author of the text associates the מקום of 2 Samuel and the “Temple of the Lord” of Ezek 15:17. Later on in the same column 4Q174 mentions a מקדש ישראל, which, we are told, foreigners once defiled, and a further מקדש אדם. Much scholarship has been devoted to clarifying the nature of these three Temples,¹⁴³ with the majority view being that the מקדש ישראל refers to the past Temple(s), the מקדש אדם was either the Second Temple or the Qumran community itself, and the final Temple refers to an eschatological structure created by God.

¹⁴⁰ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” 455.

¹⁴¹ The only other place in the *Temple Scroll* that might provide information about eschatological events is 11Q19 lix, where God (in the first person, as per usual for the *Temple Scroll*) appears to describe a portion of the future history of Israel. Included in this review of future history is the note that the cities of Israel will become a waste (lix 4) until the people return to the Law (lix 10), at which time God will deliver them from their enemies (lix 10) and gather them again אבותיהמה (lix 12). On the parallels with 4Q462 1, see below.

¹⁴² The numbering of the columns and fragments of this text differs widely within the scholarly literature. A. STEUDEL has done the most extensive work on the reconstruction of the text, and we use her column numbers here; see her book, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a,b}): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und Traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 (“Florilegium”) und 4Q177 (“Catena”) repräsentiert Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* (STDJ 13; Leiden/New York/Köln, 1994).

¹⁴³ See the history of scholarship and the very helpful chart in M.O. WISE, “4QFlorilegium and the Temple of Adam,” *RevQ* 15 (1991-1992) [*Mémorial Jean Starcky*], 103-132.

That this eschatological Temple might be identical to the second, ultimate Temple of 11Q19 xxix is a possibility.¹⁴⁴ As with the *Temple Scroll*, however, the fact that the *Florilegium* does not speak of or allude to a New Jerusalem means that it cannot simply be assumed that the *NJ* and the *Florilegium* shared any eschatological expectations beyond the fact that both anticipate the appearance of an eschatological Temple.

As for the *War Scroll*, there are several potential points of contact between it and the *NJ*. The opening column of the *War Scroll*¹⁴⁵ contains what P.R. DAVIES calls “a nationalistic scheme of world conquest by Israel with a seven-stage dualistic confrontation between the forces of light and darkness.”¹⁴⁶ In 1QM i 3 we are told that the מדבר ירושלים (“the wilderness of Jerusalem”) is the place where the exiled Sons of Light camp after returning from the מדבר העמים (“the wilderness of the nations”). As with the rest of 1QM i (and, indeed, the entire *War Scroll*), the terminology can be excruciatingly cryptic, often hinting at rich layers of symbolism that once must have had meaning to a specific intended audience. Questions relating to the identity of the Sons of Light and why they are located in this “wilderness of the nations” are difficult to answer. The latter calls to mind Ezek 20:34-36, where the phrase is used (20:35) to indicate the present predicament from which in the

¹⁴⁴ See also, *inter alia*, G.J. BROOKE, “Florilegium,” *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (edd. L.H. SCHIFFMAN and J.C VANDERKAM. Oxford, 2000), 297-298 at 297.

¹⁴⁵ The opening column might have been a separate document that was incorporated into 1QM and is partially overlapped by 4Q496 i (fragments 1-3). The identification of and relationship among the component elements of the *War Scroll*, and the relation between the 1QM elements and the other copies of either different versions of 1QM or of texts related to 1QM is a matter of intense debate — the entire dynamic is in a number of ways like the situation with the *Temple Scroll* and the questions of its sources, redaction history, extant copies, and related documents.

¹⁴⁶ “War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness,” *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (edd. L.H. SCHIFFMAN and J.C VANDERKAM. Oxford, 2000), 965-968 at 966.

future God promises to deliver Israel and to gather its peoples.¹⁴⁷ The reader will recall that Chapter 2 (§3, c) discussed the “Gathering of Israel” as a common element among the expressions of the New Jerusalem topos. Also unclear is the precise meaning of the phrase *מדבר ירושלים*. YADIN notes that this phrase does not occur at all in the biblical or rabbinic literature, but suggests that perhaps the “ruins of Jerusalem” of Isa 52:9, which is part of a “restored Jerusalem” passage, might provide a suitable context.¹⁴⁸ But a city that is presently in ruins hardly appears to be an appropriate context for the place where the exiles of the Sons of Light would gather to prepare for the great war with the battalions of the Sons of Darkness.¹⁴⁹ With this in mind, it could be that *מדבר ירושלים* refers to an area around the city walls where an army could assemble in battle order, just as the citizen-armies of the Roman Republic once assembled outside the *pomerium* of the city on the Campus Martius.¹⁵⁰ The possibility of this “wilderness of Jerusalem” referring to an assembly area is buttressed by the concern shown throughout the *War Scroll* for specifying the precise order of battle (*i.e.*, the manner in which the troops were to be arranged in formation), and by the function

¹⁴⁷ The larger context of Ezek 20:34-36, which is beyond the scope of the present discussion, is even more complex than what we indicate here, involving the prediction of the fall of Jerusalem and a number of references and allusions to the Exodus, where God delivered his people from Egypt and into the wilderness.

¹⁴⁸ Y. YADIN, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (trans. B. RABIN and C. RABIN; Oxford, 1962), comment on 1QM i 3. See also J. CARMIGNAC and P. GUILBERT, *Les Textes de Qumran, traduits et annotés. La Règle de la communauté — La Règle de la guerre — Les hymnes* (Paris, 1961), 91, who note that a proper context for the phrase might also be found at 1 Macc 3:45.

¹⁴⁹ See J. VAN DER PLOEG, *Le Rouleau de guerre. Traduit et annoté avec une introduction* (STDJ 2; Leiden, 1959), 58-59, who doubts whether a certain meaning may ever be found for the phrase “wilderness of Judah,” and instead notes it generally refers to the “Terre Sainte de Juifs exilés qui conduiront une guerre.”

¹⁵⁰ One objection to this theory is that, unlike Rome, Jerusalem has no flat areas outside its (ancient) city walls where troops could muster. As we noted in Chapter 2, §2, d, however, not every expression of the New Jerusalem contains reference to the topography of the surrounding area and, in some cases (*cf.* Zech 14:10; Ezek 47:1-12) the topography of the New Jerusalem is explicitly different from that of the historical city.

of the New Jerusalem¹⁵¹ in the *War Scroll*, where the city is both the staging area for the army of the Sons of Light just before they march out to do battle with the enemy (1QM vii 4) and the place to which they return home victorious (1QM iii 4).

We have already noted that the nations Edom, Moab, and Ammon appear in this order in an eschatological context in only three texts: 4Q554 2 iii 18, Dan 11:41,¹⁵² and the *War Scroll*.¹⁵³ In the *War Scroll* (1QM i 1) these three nations are specifically called the “troop” (גודד)¹⁵⁴ of Edom, Moab, and the sons of Ammon, and form part of the great

¹⁵¹ That the Jerusalem of the *War Scroll* is a New Jerusalem is patent: it is the city as it will exist in the future, at a time when the Sons of Light are able to return there from their exile. This future is surely an idealized future (there can be no question that the Jerusalem of the author’s present will become the New Jerusalem of the *War Scroll* without a dramatic reversal of fortune), and as such is in harmony with our discussion in Chapter 2 (§2, a) of the role of idealized expectations in the expressions of the New Jerusalem. Moreover, if the *War Scroll* (in its present form) is a sectarian composition or compilation, the reversal of fortune would be dramatic indeed, since it would require a future where the authorities of the Jerusalem of the present had been completely ousted. That this future is an eschatological future is also clear from the fact that war involves heavenly forces as well as earthly ones (1QM i 10, xviii) and from the reference to a messiah figure in 4Q285, a text that COLLINS characterizes as “probably part of the same composition” as the *War Scroll* (*Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 106).

¹⁵² At Dan 11:41 we find ראשית בני עמון rather than בני עמון of the *NJ*. The first noun is emended by many to read שארית “remnant,” although GOLDINGAY remarks that ראשית “suggests the flower of a people,” translating the term as “leaders” (*Daniel*, 280).

¹⁵³ See note 104, above.

¹⁵⁴ The full phrase is בגודד אדום ומואב ובני עמון (1QM i). There is a vertical split in the skin that affects the first few words of each line in the first eight lines of 1QM i. This lacuna therefore obscures the first few words of line two, the portion of the text that immediately follows the word עמון. The text at 1QM i 2 seems to read רזי[פלטת ובגודדי כתיי אשור] For our purposes, the question is whether the *waw* that appears at the beginning of this line requires that the text of this line ought to be considered part of the phrase בגודד אדום ומואב ובני עמון at line 1.

Various solutions have been proposed. VAN DER PLOEG reads רזי[בל יושבי] (“et la co[n]trée des habitants”); cf. Zeph 2:5 (“La Règle de la guerre. Traduction et notes,” *VT* 5 (1955), 337–420 at 393), but in his book, *La Rouleau de guerre*, he did not translate the passage. MILIK suggests רזי[מוריים ופלטת], or “et les A[morréens et la] Philistie” (*RB* (1957), 587). CARMIGNAC and GUILBERT translate “des [Amalécites et du peuple de] Philistie” (*Les Textes de Qumran*, 91), while DAVIES translates “the arm[y of ... Philistia” (*1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran. Its Structure and History* (BibOr 32; Roma, 1977), 114; cf. YADIN’s רזי[ל יושבי] (The War of the Sons of Light, *ad loc.*). Note also GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, *DSST*: “and the comp[any of ... and of] Philistia.”

In our opinion, it is quite possible that the first few letters of line 2 introduce a new subject (another company or army, most likely). Accordingly, there is no evidence to prove that what follows the word עמון at 1QM i 2 ought to be considered part of the phrase בגודד אדום ומואב ובני עמון.

company against whom the Sons of Light will initially battle, a company that includes the army of Belial, Philistia, and the troop of the “Kittim of Ashur.” The overall scene recalls the biblical concept of the holy war, the army having been mustered for war, with the mustering camp a holy place (*cf.* Deut 20:4; 23:14). In the *War Scroll* the soldiers and heroes¹⁵⁵ of the army of light will gather in the last days to sally forth with God’s help to meet the constituent elements and heroes of the army of darkness, which have themselves gathered together to forge this great army and which fight under the aegis of Belial.¹⁵⁶

This picture of a massed, allied army of darkness presents us with a significant clue as to the possible nature of these nations Edom, Moab, and Ammon as they appear in this order in Daniel 11, the *NJ*, and the *War Scroll*. Edom, Moab, and Ammon are a bloc — eschatologically, this phrase represents not three distinct nations but one monolithic entity. We posit this because the appearance of these nations in this exact order in eschatological contexts in three different texts suggests that the roster “Edom, Moab, and Ammon” might have been understood as a set phrase, and also because in the *War Scroll* this bloc contributes its troop, as one monolithic unit, to the army of darkness, just as do the other discrete elements of the opponents of the Sons of Light. This evidence might suggest, therefore, that this bloc “Edom, Moab, and Ammon” came to have a general eschatological *significance* in certain Second Temple texts rather than a specific eschatological *purpose*. To be sure, there is no question that the eschatological purpose of the bloc in the *War Scroll* is to function as one of the enemies of the Sons of Light that forms part of the army of

¹⁵⁵ References to “heroes” on both sides of the conflict are found throughout the *War Scroll* (*cf.* 1QM xii 10, xix 1, 10).

¹⁵⁶ 1QM iv 2.

darkness. But this purpose is specific to the *War Scroll* only; the appearance of the bloc at Dan 11:41 is unrelated to a final battle like that we find in the *War Scroll*. More to the point, the specific eschatological purpose of the bloc “Edom, Moab, and Ammon” in the *NJ* is not as a company in a great army of darkness, nor is it even to be part of an eschatological battle, but rather as part of a list of nations that once persecuted Israel but that will in the eschatological age serve it. This point of contact among these three texts in the matter of the bloc “Edom, Moab, and Ammon” might help shed light on a possible date and context for the *NJ*, a matter that we will discuss in the Conclusion to this dissertation.

The *War Scroll* also envisions a future wherein the battles will finally cease, when Jerusalem and all the cities of Judah¹⁵⁷ will be able to throw open their gates to the wealth of the once-hostile nations, including precious metals and gems, that will begin to flow in the city (1QM xii 12-14). This expectation does not of course imply a direct relationship with the generally similar theme as it is manifested in the *NJ* at 4Q554 2 iii; as was noted many times in Chapter 2 (§3, b), the theme of the future humbling of the nations is common to many expressions of the New Jerusalem topos. At the same time, however, the description of the New Jerusalem in the *NJ* and the substance of its eschatological expectations, at least from what can be determined from the preserved portions of the text, would not be too far out of step with the eschatological horizon of *this section* of the *War Scroll*.

As for the “Kittim,” while there has been much discussion as to whether the Kittim refer to the Greeks or the Romans in the *War Scroll*, there is no question that in 1QM i the “Kittim of Assur” and the “Kittim in Egypt” are, like the bloc “Edom, Moab, and Ammon,”

¹⁵⁷ The emphasis on the structures and cities outside the New Jerusalem proper is witnessed also in some of the other expressions of the topos. See Chapter 2, §2, a, for details.

discrete elements that have gathered with the rest of the lot of Belial to form this great army of darkness.¹⁵⁸ Unlike the *NJ*, however, there is no sense of the schematization of past history in the *War Scroll*, nor indeed does the latter describe anything of the events that precede the eschatological age in which the final war will occur.

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ posits that “the preserved text [of 1QM] assures that the context in which the visions of the new city and temple of the New Jerusalem [of the *NJ*] take place is none other than the War Scroll.”¹⁵⁹ When we examine the points of contact between these two texts, however, quite a contrary picture emerges. The only way that GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ’ theory makes sense is if 4Q554 2 iii refers to an eschatological battle, for then the elements of the “Kittim” and (above all) the bloc “Edom, Moab, and Ammon” would share a common eschatological function. In such a scenario, the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* would have the same function as does the camp of the Sons of Light does in the *War Scroll*, and the list of nations in 4Q554 2 iii would be part of the army of darkness in 1QM i. But there is no evidence of an eschatological battle in the *NJ*, and while there appears to be a clear point of contact in the matter of the bloc “Edom, Moab, and Ammon,” we argue that this degree of contact is limited to the significance of the bloc rather than to its function. In addition, as

¹⁵⁸ Throughout the rest of the *War Scroll* no mention of these other companies is found and the Kittim assume the role of the primary enemies of the Sons of Light. This lends credence to the view of CARMIGNAC and GUILBERT that “ce terme ne semble désigner ni les Grecs, ni les Séleucides, ni les Romains; c’est plutôt un pseudonyme universel qui s’applique à tous les ennemis” (*Les textes de Qumran*, 91, note 5). That the armour and weaponry of the troops of the Kittim of 1QM or their tactics might reflect a Seleucid, Ptolemaic, or Roman provenance is not necessarily indicative that the Kittim ought to be associated with any of these nations. Rather, a correlation between the troops and tactics of 1QM and any of these nations might simply be the result of the author (or redactor) of 1QM expressing his views on armour and battle tactics by the standards of his time. An analogy may be seen in the Renaissance paintings of biblical tales involving troops and warfare, where these troops appear as Renaissance soldiers.

¹⁵⁹ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “New Jerusalem,” *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 610.

DAVIES posits, the outlook of the first column of 1QM is restrictive, since of the twelve tribes of Israel, only Levi, Judah, and Benjamin (1QM i 2) are mentioned as participating in the eschatological war.¹⁶⁰ In contrast, the *NJ* clearly envisions a future in which all the tribes of Israel will play a part, since the walls of its New Jerusalem contain twelve gates, one for each of the twelve tribes (4Q554 1 i 11 - ii 10), even if the tribe of Levi enjoys the preferred place.¹⁶¹

It is clear, then, on the basis of the investigations conducted in this section, that the prevailing scholarly hypothesis that the eschatological horizon of the *NJ* corresponds to the eschatological outlook of the *Temple Scroll*, the *Florilegium*, and the *War Scroll* is unsubstantiated. We have demonstrated that the points of contact between the *NJ* and these three Dead Sea texts with respect to a common eschatology are at best very general and are certainly nowhere near concrete enough to even begin to speak of issues of dependence or priority.

Moreover, and although proving this to be the case was not an explicit aim of this chapter, we fail to see any special congruence among these three Dead Sea texts themselves. Put another way, the common eschatological “horizon” (*apud* GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ) that is supposed to extend from these texts to include the *NJ* — that is, an independent set of specific expectations common to these three texts and into which the eschatological outlook of the *NJ* might be fitted — is non-existent. In fact, the implicit link among these three texts would appear to be the *NJ* itself, or, more precisely, the *NJ* as it is commonly understood:

¹⁶⁰ DAVIES, *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran*, 114-115.

¹⁶¹ See Chapter 1, Note on the Reading at 4Q554 1 ii 14-15.

a document that exhibits some basic connexions with the *Temple Scroll* and contains reference to an eschatological battle, as we find in the *War Scroll*. If these hypotheses are accepted, then the conception of a common eschatological horizon holds water, with the links between the *Temple Scroll* and the *NJ* making contact with the links between the *NJ* and the *War Scroll*. But these postulates are not true. As we have established, the *NJ* has very few points of contact with the *Temple Scroll* either on the level of architectural design elements or on that of specific eschatological expectations, and the idea that an eschatological battle is the subject of 4Q554 2 iii is an incorrect interpretation of the evidence. In the end, what we have left are four Dead Sea texts that share some basic eschatological elements — all four describe end-time structures, for example, and, as GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ states, all four texts are concerned with the “revelation of something new and different”¹⁶² — but nothing more than that.

5. *The NJ and Points of Contact with Other Dead Sea Scrolls*

Beyond the realm of the *Temple Scroll*, the *War Scroll*, and the *Florilegium* there is somewhat more fertile ground for establishing points of contact with the *NJ*, both in the area of architectural design features and with respect to common eschatological expectations. Most of the texts that will be discussed in this section are comparatively recently published and almost all are extremely fragmentary and relatively short. There is no correspondence among these texts as a group; they are examined solely in order to shed some light on their possible points of contact with or similarities to the *NJ*. As a result, their order of

¹⁶² See the quotation that is the subject of note 64, above.

presentation in this section is determined by the degree to which each sheds such light, with the most important texts presented first. In addition, the presentation of these texts is very much a cursory survey conducted specifically for the purposes of this section rather than a detailed and complete examination of each text.

a. 4Q462

4Q462 (or 4Q*Narrative C*) is composed in Hebrew and, as was discussed in Chapter 2, is an example of a text found at Qumran that is of the “Restored Jerusalem” type of the New Jerusalem topos. M. SMITH, who edited this text for the DJD series, categorizes 4Q462 as a narrative “describing the exile and return of the Israelites as well as Jerusalem’s restoration.”¹⁶³ He opines that the general scenario of restoration in 4Q462 1¹⁶⁴ is remarkably like that which is described in the *Temple Scroll* at 11Q19 lix, including a captivity in the enemies’ land, a crying out for deliverance, and an eventual restoration in the chosen land, which in 4Q462 means the restored Jerusalem.

4Q462 seems to share a certain correspondence with the *NJ*, although the fragmentary nature of the former exacerbates the sense that there is little context to its frequent references to persons and places, and makes understanding the overall character of

¹⁶³ SMITH, DJD XIX, 197-209 at 197. See also his earlier study, “4Q462 (Narrative) Fragment 1: A Preliminary Edition,” *RevQ* 15 (1991-1992) [*Mémorial Jean Starcky*], 55-77, where he dates the text palaeographically to roughly the third quarter of the first century BCE. See, too, the text and a brief description and interpretation in EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*, 267-269; and the text in GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, 938-941.

¹⁶⁴ 4Q462 1 is the main fragment, with the remains of 19 lines of text extant. 4Q462 2-7 preserve only a few words or letters.

the text difficult. Importantly, both the *NJ* and 4Q462 focus on the New Jerusalem,¹⁶⁵ and not just the New Temple. There seems to be no place in 4Q462 for a detailed description of urban structures of the sort encountered in the *NJ*, but this is an argument from silence, since we cannot know how much of 4Q462 has been lost. No mention is made of measurements or dimensions of the New Jerusalem of 4Q462 or whether the new city will be monumental in stature, but there is a possible reference to its having been made a ruin but later restored (4Q462 1 14). Whether this is a future expectation (as SMITH argues) or a part of a review of history is unclear.¹⁶⁶ More telling is the language in line 16, which, calling to mind Isa 54:1, foretells that “her discontent will be changed to splendour,” which SMITH understands to refer to the reversal of fortune that will come to pass concerning Jerusalem,¹⁶⁷ and which ties in with a reversal of the city’s state of uncleanness in lines 16-17.¹⁶⁸ That the restoration of the city is part of a future-time expectation rather than a review of past history is clear from this reference to the splendour of the city, which calls to mind the many other examples of the New Jerusalem topos that contain this theme, including the *NJ*.

Also important is the reference to *ק[ן] הרושך וקץ האור* at 4Q462 1 10, which would

¹⁶⁵ The scribe originally wrote “Israel,” which he then crossed out (4Q462 1 19).

¹⁶⁶ SMITH’S interpretation of 4Q462 1 in DJD XIX is based on a fair amount of reconstruction, where specific verb tenses are chosen (*e.g.*, “he will] give it” for *יתנה* in line 7), an interpretation for the structure of the whole fragment is adduced (206), and future-time contexts provided (*e.g.*, the mention of Philistia and Egypt are taken as an indication of the text’s future-time context (204)). Even SMITH mentions that there are “many difficulties of interpretation” (207).

¹⁶⁷ This is a complicated argument, involving references to a number of biblical and rabbinic texts, that we will not reproduce here. See SMITH, DJD XIX, 205.

¹⁶⁸ SMITH suggests that “the reiteration of the theme of Jerusalem’s uncleanness in lines 16-18 may indicate a halakhic concern for the present state of the city. If so, the resoration of Jerusalem may symbolize a debate over the current condition of Jerusalem ... [and] may reflect a priestly quarrel over legal matters” (DJD XIX, 204-205).

seem to indicate that some sort of periodization is meant, although whether the temporal context is past-time (*ex eventu*) or future-time is not certain.¹⁶⁹ The most obvious parallel is with the alternating periods of light and dark in the “Apocalypse of the Clouds,” a long review of history found at *2 Baruch* 53-76.¹⁷⁰ As we have noted several times, the periodization of history as a prelude to the discussion of the eschatological events is a common historiographic device,¹⁷¹ and one that plays a particular role in the *NJ* at 4Q554 2 iii in the four-kingdom schema. Although no kingdoms are mentioned in line 10, in the previous line we discover a reference to *הממשלה*, a word that SMITH translates as “kingdom” and notes is employed in the *War Scroll* at 1QM i 6 “to refer to the reign of the Kittim.”¹⁷² It is possible, then, that we might have the same elements in 4Q462 1 — the reference to kingdoms and the idea of a periodization of history — that we also witness in 4Q554 2 iii. That both elements in both texts precede mention of a New Jerusalem might indicate a common eschatological outlook, at least with respect to certain areas of thought.

b. 4Q537

One Aramaic manuscript that might also share some points of contact with the *NJ*

¹⁶⁹ SMITH compares the period of darkness in 4Q462 with the “period of wickedness” in 1QpHab v 7-8 (DJD XIX, 203).

¹⁷⁰ See Chapter 2, §2, c.

¹⁷¹ SMITH also cites “the free-standing prefix verbal forms” as indicating 4Q462 1 14-19 are relating future-time events (DJD XIX, 207).

¹⁷² SMITH, DJD XIX, 202. He notes the appearance of this word at 4Q510 1 6-7 in “the age of the wicked kingdom,” and suggests that the phrase there has an echo in the reference to periods in 4Q462 1 10. He also suggests that 4Q462 and the *War Scroll* might both attest to Egypt and Philistia in a future scenario (DJD XIX, 204), but we must recall that the reference in 1QM i is to the “Kittim in Egypt,” not simply Egypt.

is 4Q537, sometimes called the *Testament of Jacob*.¹⁷³ The text is extremely fragmentary, but 4Q537 2 2 appears to refer to the Temple and its operation, including how sacrifices are prepared and offered. 4Q537 2 3 contains reference to a city, presumably Jerusalem, and the walls of that city, although details pertaining to these walls are not included. Towards the end of the fragment, in line 5, we find the clause]קדמי ארע רבעין תריין וא],¹⁷⁴ a land measurement that might refer to a feature of the city or the territory immediately outside the walls.

What might make these descriptions of a city and its walls specifically eschatological is the reference in 4Q537 1 4 to “the tablet” (לוחא), upon which was presumably written something. Generally speaking, in the Second Temple literature, and especially in the texts that present historical episodes in a revelatory or testamentary format, the function of tablets is to serve as permanent repositories of special information. Sometimes these tablets refer to eternal verities, like the heavenly counterpart of the Law that had yet to be given at the time in which the narrative action of the text is set¹⁷⁵ or the lore of the movement of the celestial bodies in the heavens.¹⁷⁶ At other times these tablets refer to a record of past and

¹⁷³ This designation is seriously questioned by R.A. KUGLER, who has examined the corpus of testamentary literature from Qumran (“Testaments,” *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (edd. L.H. SCHIFFMAN and J.C. VANDERKAM (Oxford, 2000))).

¹⁷⁴ It is not impossible that the following word is]וא[רבעין (“and forty”), thus reading “forty-two squares.” On 4Q537, see (text and translation) BEYER, *ATTM*, 186-187; PUECH, *La croyance*, 489-501; *idem*, “Fragments d’un apocryphe de Lévi et le personnage eschatologique: 4QTestLévi^{c-d}(?) et 4QAJa,” *The Madrid Qumran Congress* (edd. J. TREBOLLE BARRERA and L. VEGAS MONTANER; STDJ 11; Leiden/New York/Köln, 1992), 2.449-501; and (text and translation) GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, 1074-1077. PUECH translates the phrase as “[d]evant moi une terre de quarante deux / de deux quarts/carrés et ..[” (*La croyance*, 496).

¹⁷⁵ Cf. *Jub* 3.10, 31, etc.; *TestLevi* 5.4; *TestAsh* 2.10, etc. See H.W. HOLLANDER and M. DE JONGE, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. A Commentary* (SVTP 8; Leiden, 1985), 348, re *TestAsh* 2.10.

¹⁷⁶ *Jub* 8.3-4.

future events to which certain seers in apocalyptic literature have access.¹⁷⁷ At 4Q180 1 3, for example, tablets function as the place where the sequence of the discrete periods of history have been systematically recorded. This function also seems to be the case at 4Q247 1-2.¹⁷⁸ In the *NJ* we witnessed that at 4Q554 2 iii there exists a clear temporal sequence that runs from the presentation of the kingdoms of the earth (the periods of history) to a description of eschatological events. One of the indications that a switch is made from *ex eventu* history to eschatological expectation is the presence of the term “the end” at 4Q554 2 iii 16. In 4Q537 1 6 we encounter the word וּבַיּוֹם (“on the day”), which, following as it does the reference to the tablet in line 4, could be an indication that what is about to follow is a description of eschatological events.

We must stress, however, that these observations are preliminary and further study is required. For one thing, even if it could be established that the phrase “on the day” marks a transition to an eschatological forecast, it is uncertain whether the reference to the city and its walls and the indication of land measurement in 4Q537 2 would have followed this phrase in the original text. It could also be the case that the phrase marks the transition not to an eschatological context, but to a simple future-time one, that is, where the events following the appearance of the phrase are future-time in their narrative context, but past-time from the point of view of the reader. To offer an analogy, a blessing that also contains a prediction whose fulfillment is either expressed later or understood by the reader also functions in this

¹⁷⁷ Cf. *TestAsh* 7.5; *Jub* 32.31; *PrJos* fr. B, etc. On the topic, see D.S. RUSSELL, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (London, 1964), 107-109.

¹⁷⁸ See M. BROSHI, “4QPeshar on the Apocalypse of Weeks,” *Qumran Cave 4, XXVI. Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD XXXVI; Oxford, 2000), 187-191.

way — when the blessing is given and such a prediction is made, the prediction is future-time and unfulfilled within the narrative context, but past-time and fulfilled from the perspective of the reader. This might be the case at 4Q537, especially if the narrative context is the patriarchal period and the object of the future-time statement is (hypothetically) the Jerusalem and Temple of the Solomonic era. Our point here is that there is not enough information from which to draw definite conclusions either way.

If, though, all these things could be demonstrated, we would have another text that appears to describe the Jerusalem of the eschatological era, including perhaps its dimensions and some of the details about its structures and territory. At the very least, we can say that 4Q537 provides evidence of another Aramaic text besides the *NJ* that might have been concerned with the physical description of Jerusalem. Whether this was the Jerusalem of history or the New Jerusalem is impossible to tell.

c. 4Q529 (and 4Q571 (?))

The short and poorly preserved Aramaic text known as the *Words of Michael* (4Q529) is intriguing. 4Q529 line 9 preserves the lines, “And behold, a city will be built to the name of my Great One, [the Lord Eternal. ...”¹⁷⁹ R. EISENMAN and M.O. WISE label this city definitely as the “New or Heavenly Jerusalem,” arguing that “while in Heaven Michael learns of a city to be built.”¹⁸⁰ They do not provide much in the way of justification for their

¹⁷⁹ [... מרא עלמא די רבי לשמה די קריה מתבניה קריה (so GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, 1060-1063, from which the translation is also taken). See also EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*, 37-39; and BEYER, *ATM*, 127-128: “⁹Und siehe, eine Stadt ist gebaut auf den Namen meines Herrn [des ewigen Herrn ...].”

¹⁸⁰ EISENMAN/WISE, *DSSU*, 38.

interpretation of the text, but in our view they are at least partially correct. The text is fragmentary, but we are told that Michael, speaking to the angels from a book (line 2), sees nine mountains, two in the direction of each of the four points of the compass (lines 3-4). As we observed in Chapter 2, a number of expressions of the topos include a description of topographic details outside the New Jerusalem. In our view, because of this possible context and also because of the reference to this “city that will be built,” the ninth and final mountain, whose geographic position is not preserved in the text, might be Mount Zion, the site upon which the city will be situated. Moreover, we must assume that the context of the building of the city is eschatological (referring to the New Jerusalem) rather than an *ex eventu* oracular statement about the future (referring to the historical Jerusalem), since the regularity of the mountain topography suggests its ideal rather than historical nature. At the same time, although Michael’s speaking to the angels confirms the heavenly setting of the action, there is nothing, *pace* EISENMAN and WISE, to demonstrate that the building of the city itself is a heavenly event. Indeed, at 4Q529 line 10 we encounter a reference to wickedness, a condition or state of being that would seem to imply an earthly setting.

One final point about 4Q529 concerns the Aramaic text 4Q571, which has been assigned the generic label 4Q*Aramaic V*, and which consists of one fragment of three partial lines of text. We find in 4Q571 line 1 the word “city” (קרייה), but the context here is unclear. In line 2 some unknown object or figure appears לכל יתבי ארעא, which is followed by the clause,] והא מדינתא רחיקתא, which reads, “And behold, a far-away province”¹⁸¹ To

¹⁸¹ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and TIGCHELAAR translate this passage as, “And behold, a far-away city” (*DSSSE*, 1022-1023). This word מדינת, however, is usually translated not as “city” but as “province” or “district,” (BDB 1088; *cf.* Dan 2:48, 3:1, 2, 3, 12, 30; Ezra 5:8, 6:2, 7:16), and in fact GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and TIGCHELAAR translate it in this fashion when it twice appears at 4Q318 1 ii 7.

be sure, this brief reference to a city and a province does not in itself indicate that the New Jerusalem specifically is the subject of the text. The reason we are discussing 4Q571 in the context of 4Q529, however, is because MILIK once remarked that the *Words of Michael* is also preserved in 6Q23, otherwise labeled as “unidentified fragments,” and in an unnamed, second 4Q copy.¹⁸² To the best of our knowledge, no other such Aramaic 4Q manuscript is called by the name of or is listed as the *Words of Michael*.¹⁸³ It could be, however, that MILIK identified 4Q571 as this second 4Q copy of the *Words of Michael*, since the command to “behold” in 4Q571 is found three times within a relatively short amount of text in 4Q529, while the “city” of 4Q571 might be the “city that will be built” in 4Q529. If this is the case (and this is only a hypothesis), the city of 4Q571 needs to be understood in the light of 4Q529, that is, possibly as a reference to the New Jerusalem.

d. 4Q391 (and *Pseudo-Ezekiel* (?))

Like the figures of Enoch, Jacob, and Daniel, the figure of the prophet Ezekiel became the subject of numerous Jewish and Christian pseudepigrapha, some of which are preserved only among the texts uncovered in the Dead Sea caves.¹⁸⁴ One of these texts is the

¹⁸² J.T. MILIK, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford, 1976), 91.

¹⁸³ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TICHELAAR, *DSSSE*, 1060, list 6Q23 under 4Q529, thus implying that it is a possible copy, but do not list 4Q529 under the 6Q23 (1160), nor do they call 6Q23 the *Words of Michael* in any of their indices. There is no reference to another 4Q *Words of Michael*.

¹⁸⁴ On the topic, see the useful essay by D. DIMANT, “The Apocalyptic Interpretation of Ezekiel at Qumran,” *Messiah and Christos. Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity Presented to David Flusser on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (edd. I. GRUENWALD, *et alii*; TSAJ 32; Tübingen, 1992), 31-51 at 40-51; and see now the DJD editions (but not of 4Q391, for which see next note) in *eadem*, “Pseudo-Ezekiel,” *Qumran Cave 4, XXI. Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD XXX; Oxford, 2000). 7-88.

papyrus document 4Q391, edited by SMITH.¹⁸⁵ He notes that of all the pseudo-Ezekiel texts discovered at Qumran, only 4Q391 makes use of Ezekiel 40-48. In fragment 65 of 4Q391 we find what seems to be the remains of a description of either the New Temple or New Jerusalem, with a reference to the river Chebar, which is mentioned several times in Ezekiel, including 43:3, and which is the place where Ezekiel beheld the glory of YHWH.¹⁸⁶ With respect to its relationship to the *NJ*, SMITH highlights several similarities between the texts: i) the Hebrew $\psi\mu\psi\mu$ (line 9), a rare word whose Aramaic cognate אִשְׁשִׁשׁ is found in the *NJ* (5Q15 1 i 8);¹⁸⁷ ii) the visionary phrase “and I saw”; iii) the use of measurements in cubits, including a value of thirteen cubits at line 6.

The very fragmentary nature of this text, however, makes SMITH’S claims difficult to judge. That 4Q391 is at least in part an expansion of or is based upon Ezekiel 40-48 seems sure.¹⁸⁸ Less certain, however, is its relationship to the *NJ*. The use of the word $\psi\mu\psi\mu$ might indicate a connexion, but it could also represent, like the spiral staircases of the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*, no more than an attempt by an author of a different text from roughly the same era attempting to describe a design feature coincidentally similar in both texts. We

¹⁸⁵ M. SMITH, “391. 4QpapPseudo-Ezekiel^o,” *Qumran Cave 4. XIV. Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XIX; Oxford, 1995), 153-193, pls. XVII-XXV. For the text, see also GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*. SMITH dates the text on palaeographic grounds to the second half of the second century BCE.

¹⁸⁶ B.G. WRIGHT observes that the river Chebar might be the site of the vision of the new city, just as it is the site of the vision of Ezekiel 1; if this is the case, this would stand in contrast with the fact that the new city of Ezekiel 40-48 is situated in the midst of the land of Israel (“Notes on 4Q391 (papPseudo-Ezekiel^o) and Biblical Ezekiel,” *For a Later Generation. The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity* (edd. R.A. ARGALL, *et alii*; Harrisburg, 2000), 289-298 at 296).

¹⁸⁷ The overlapping text in 4Q554 1 iii is not extant. But see also Chapter 1, Note on the Reading at 4Q554 3 (= J 5, 30) line 2.

¹⁸⁸ So WRIGHT, “Notes,” 296.

have already determined that the *NJ* describes the eschatological Jerusalem, and it might be the case that the phrase כִּי בִיּוֹם [sic] in 4Q391 65 2 is an indication that the description that follows pertains to the eschatological age. At the same time, the phrase “and I saw” is by no means unexpected in any sort of revelatory vision and thus need not imply a special relationship with the *NJ*. Furthermore, measurement by cubit, while not common, is not limited to Ezekiel 40-48 or the *NJ*,¹⁸⁹ and contrary to SMITH’S assertion, line 6 mentions only the number “13,” not “13 cubits.”¹⁹⁰ Finally, like the *Temple Scroll*, 4Q391 is written in Hebrew, while the *NJ* is composed in Aramaic.

As it stands, 4Q391 does make several positive contributions to the discussion. To begin, as SMITH notes, the presence of 4Q391 65 indicates the presence of other Second Temple compositions besides the *NJ* that were to one degree or another based on Ezekiel 40-48.¹⁹¹ The fragment also is an example of a very small corpus of Second Temple texts that are concerned with the fine details and measurements of eschatological structures, which reinforces the view that, along with the *NJ*, the *Temple Scroll*, and 4Q365a, the question of the character of the urban setting of the end-time was one that precipitated several responses.

Recently, D. DIMANT has stated that 4Q391 “constitutes a sixth copy of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*.”¹⁹² If this is the case, we need to examine potential points of contact between the *NJ* and 4Q391 in the light of the other five copies of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, i.e., 4Q385, 4Q385b,

¹⁸⁹ See Chapter 1, §4, c, where we examine the distance phraseology of the *NJ* and other texts.

¹⁹⁰ Line 7 does mention a dimension in cubits.

¹⁹¹ SMITH, DJD XIX, 154.

¹⁹² DIMANT, DJD XXX, 9.

4Q385c, 4Q386, and 4Q388. There are several minor contributions these *Pseudo-Ezekiel* fragments make to our study. First, DIMANT has determined that a fragment containing a *Merkabah* vision (4Q385 6) seems to follow a complex of themes, including a “Vision of the Dry Bones” and an eschatological battle. As she notes, this order is surprising, given that the author of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* has made a conscious effort to model his work on the biblical Ezekiel, and in that work the *Merkabah* vision appears at its beginning.¹⁹³ DIMANT suggests that the *Merkabah* vision of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* might have been situated in this order in the text on the basis of Ezek 43:3, where in the New Temple the vision is revealed to Ezekiel. This passage therefore could represent, along with the *NJ* and 4Q391 (if SMITH is correct in his assertion that 4Q391 and 4Q385 are distinct compositions), a further example of a text discovered at Qumran that took its inspiration from Ezekiel 40-48. Second, there is reference to an eschatological battle in 4Q386 1 ii-iii. We need not here repeat our argument that no eschatological battle is described in the *NJ*. It is more useful to concentrate on the import of the battle in 4Q386. Although there is a reference to an expected eschatological gathering at 4Q386 1 ii 2, which, as was noted in Chapter 2, was a common theme of the expressions of the New Jerusalem topos, the specific references to figures and events in this section suggest that its framework is more *ex eventu* revelation than eschatological forecast.¹⁹⁴ DIMANT argues that the Maccabean or very early Hasmonaean period provides the best

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

¹⁹⁴ So DIMANT observes, although she remarks that the material 4Q386 1 iii “may describe ideal eschatological rather than historical events” (DJD, XXX, 59).

historical context by which the figures and events of this battle may be identified.¹⁹⁵ If this is the case, and if we call to mind our preliminary observations on the date of the *NJ*, it might be that, for some reason, the period around the middle quarter of the second century BCE witnessed the creation of two Ezekiel pseudepigrapha that also were concerned with the place of Israel in the context of history and the future age.

e. 4Q475

The Hebrew palimpsest 4Q475 (*4QRenewed Earth*), which deals with “God’s eschatological renewal of his people and all the earth,” appears in GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and TIGCHELAAR’S *Study Edition* and T. ELGVIN’S DJD edition,¹⁹⁶ and there is a fair degree of disagreement between them as to what this very fragmentary text actually reads. For instance, in the *Study Edition* there appears to be a reference to an ideal future time wherein כול תבל כעדן, “all the world will be like Eden” (4Q475 5) and where all the world will be at peace forever (4Q475 6). We remarked in Chapter 2 (§1) that the idea of Gan Eden was a likely antecedent of the New Jerusalem topos and that the idea of peace on earth is quite common, especially when this comes to pass in the context of a reversal of fortune that

¹⁹⁵ DJD XXX, 55-59. Note that one of her strongest arguments for a second-century date is that 4Q391 (which, we recall, she determines to be part of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*) may be dated palaeographically to the late second century BCE. Note also that none of the other *Pseudo-Ezekiel* copies may be dated earlier than the middle of the first century BCE (55).

¹⁹⁶ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, 956-957; T. ELGVIN, “4QRenewed Earth,” *Qumran Cave 4, XXVI. Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD XXXVI; Oxford, 2000), 464-473. Preliminary edition: ELGVIN, “Renewed Earth and Renewed People: 4Q475,” *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (edd. D.W. PARRY and E. ULRICH; STDJ 30; Leiden/Boston/Köln, 1999), 576-591. A photograph of the fragment was first published by P.A. SPIJKERMAN, “Chronique du Musée de la Flagellation,” *SBFLA* 12 (1961-1962), 324-325.

The quotation is from ELGVIN, “Renewed Earth and Renewed People,” 578.

witnesses hitherto implacable enemies and relentless oppressors of Israel becoming nations that pay homage to the new city and its people.¹⁹⁷ In ELGVIN'S DJD edition, however, we find the completely different and at first blush highly unusual reading כול תבל כעש, "all the earth will be like a moth," which he takes to express "the fleeting and perishable nature of the world at the day of judgment or [the view] that God will destroy the earth as one crushes a moth."¹⁹⁸ We also find in ELGVIN'S edition of the text a second reference to "land" or "earth" (line 4), even though the context here is very unclear. Another example of a disagreement among the editions concerns the eschatological city. Although there is no reference in 4Q475 to such in the *Study Edition*, ELGVIN tentatively restores 4Q475 1 to read "Zio]n (?) [did] he choose."¹⁹⁹ If the latter reading is correct, the sentiment expressed in this line would be congruent with view of Zion/Jerusalem as God's chosen city, which is another broad antecedent of the New Jerusalem topos.

Whatever the details of the text, there seems to be no indication of specific time in which this peace and renewal will come to pass. At the same time, the first few lines of the text refer to unnamed human figures and their actions, and thus we might probably have a temporal sequence of historical (*ex eventu* ?) events that are followed by the reference to a

¹⁹⁷ There is a reference to a "beloved son" at 4Q475 7 (GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, 957, read בן אהוב [...] ; ELGVIN, "Renewed Earth," 577, reads בן אהוב []), but the context by which to understand this term is very unclear.

¹⁹⁸ ELGVIN, DJD XXXVI, 467. He admits that it is also possible that כעש might be scribal error for the word כאש ("like fire"), and that the judgment of the world by fire is very well attested in the literature (see his list of citations at 584, note 14). Note also the scribal error that ELGVIN identifies at line 7 (577). If his reading of the text is correct, we might think that because the scribe of 4Q475 is not immune from error, and given that "fire" rather than "moth" seems more appropriate to the overall tenor of the text and is better attested in this function in the literature, that perhaps כאש is to be preferred.

¹⁹⁹ The complete line reads י]בחר זבתאי צדקן (DJD XXXVI, 466) cf. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*: [...] ה וברחיל צר [...]

world like Eden (or a world like fire) that will appear in the future. How, if at all, the underlying eschatology might have related to the end-time expectations of the *NJ* is unclear.

f. 4Q177

In the Hebrew text known as the *Catena* (4Q177), which G.J. BROOKE describes as a “thematic commentary on a series of Psalms”²⁰⁰ (often by means of or with reference to other biblical passages),²⁰¹ we find a note that in the last days those who fear God will enter Zion with joy (4Q177 iv 15). Jerusalem is also mentioned in the same line, but the context here is uncertain. A few lines near the top of the column (4Q177 iv 6-8) are devoted to a commentary on Jer 18:18 and Ps 6:2-5, but it is very unclear whether the reference to Zion and Jerusalem in line 15 is meant as part of commentary on these biblical passages.²⁰² We can only speculate that 4Q177, like the *NJ*, preserves one variation of the common theme that the holy city will be at the centre of things in a future that will witness a dramatic reversal of fortune. It is noteworthy that 4Q177, like certain expressions of the New Jerusalem topos,²⁰³ refers to a gathering of the peoples, in this case the Sons of Light (4Q177 iv 12 and 14).

²⁰⁰ G.J. BROOKE, “Catena,” *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (edd. L.H. SCHIFFMAN and J.C. VANDERKAM. Oxford, 2000), 121-122 at 122. As with 4Q174, we will follow the numbering of the lines and columns of 4Q177 as they are reconstructed in A. STEUDEL, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde*.

²⁰¹ *E.g.*, in 4Q177 i alone, Isa 37:30, Mic 2:10-11, and Isa 22:13.

²⁰² Note, *e.g.*, the reference at 4Q177 iv 10 to Abraham and the ten just men in the city, a clear reference to Gen 18:32, therefore suggesting that perhaps the reference to Zion and Jerusalem at line 15 is not specifically connected to a commentary on Ps 6:2-6 from lines 7-8.

²⁰³ See Chapter 2, §3, c.

g. 4Q161

In the Hebrew *peshet* 4QpIs^a (4Q161), there is long and unfortunately fragmentary interpretation of the prophecies of Isa 10:20-11:5 in the light of anticipated eschatological events. Much of the interpretation is vague, but there is a reference to a battle in the final days involving the Kittim, wherein something (the context is not clear) is mentioned “up to the boundary of Jerusalem” (4Q161 ii 23-24). The view that Jerusalem will be an important focus in the future or in the eschatological age has an obvious parallel with the *NJ*; as was noted in Chapter 2, however, this view is by no means uncommon in the literature of the Second Temple period.

6. *Conclusion*

We have attempted to collect all the Qumran texts that might contain reference to the New Jerusalem or to the New Temple as future-time structures or that potentially have points of contact with the *NJ* with respect to *specific* eschatological expectations involving the New Jerusalem.²⁰⁴ Upon closer examination, texts like the *Temple Scroll* and the *War Scroll*, which have often been considered to possess some special degree of congruence with the *NJ*, in fact share only broad similarities with it, although it can be maintained that the descriptions of the second and ultimate Temple in the *Temple Scroll* and of the period after the eschatological battle in the *War Scroll* seem to refer to a setting and context more in line

²⁰⁴ A text like 4Q380, which simply affirms that Jerusalem is the city that YHWH chose (4Q380 1 i 2-3), does not qualify, since there is no indication that the Jerusalem mentioned is the New Jerusalem, and not simply the historical city.

with what we find in the *NJ*.

In addition, it can be argued that any points of contact between the *NJ* and the Dead Sea texts examined in this chapter are nearly always restricted to such broad similarities: the anticipation, for example, of a new city and Temple (perhaps to be created or constructed by God), the presence of the theme of the reversal of fortune and the homage of the nations, or a lack of reference to an explicitly heavenly New Jerusalem. Yet even these general correspondences are by no means common to all the texts in our study. The theme of the eschatological final battle, for instance, a feature of texts like the *War Scroll*, is not to be found anywhere in the *NJ*. In addition, there is no evidence to suggest that the *NJ* directly influenced any sectarian composition.

The *NJ*, therefore, seems neither to contradict explicitly nor to mirror faithfully the various eschatological expectations we find in these texts, sectarian or otherwise, especially in matters pertaining to the appearance of a new city or new Temple. Regardless of what we conclude about the date or provenance of the *NJ*, we might at the same time posit that its probable popularity within the community (a topic that will be discussed in greater detail in the Conclusion) could have stemmed from its ability to co-exist in harmony, so to speak, with the eschatological ideas and ideals of the sect.

Conclusion: The Origin and Purpose of the *New Jerusalem Text*

1. *The NJ and the Qumran Community*

On the basis of our examination in the last chapter, we concluded that although the *NJ* would not have been out of place with respect to the general eschatological anticipations of the Qumran community, it seemed to exhibit few specific points of contact with other Qumran texts. But not every text found in the Qumran caves is a sectarian¹ composition. Accordingly, the issue whether the *NJ* shared points of contact with other Qumran texts cannot shed light on the question whether the *NJ* was a sectarian composition. To answer this question, we need to approach it from a different perspective.

In his examination of wisdom and predestination in the Dead Sea Scrolls, A. LANGE provides a short check-list of the distinctive characteristics of sectarian compositions.² These characteristics include: i) the use of certain, distinctive names for God; ii) the reference or

¹ We understand the Qumran “sectarians” as a group that saw itself as a particularly pious community that was on many levels distinct from other Jews and Jewish groups of the period, roughly corresponding to the two centuries before the fall of the Second Temple in 70 CE. This group produced texts that communicated its doctrines and ideas, some of which survived in the caves near Qumran, the site at which at least a proportion of the community lived. The group also preserved copies of other, non-sectarian works, both biblical and extra-biblical; some of these (like *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*) were clearly quite important to them.

² A. LANGE, *Weisheit und Prädestination. Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädsetination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden/New York/Köln, 1995), 6-20.

allusion to and/or adherence to a solar calendar;³ iii) a radical observance of the Law that is grounded in part on the interpretation of the Law by the *מורה הצדק*; iv) the presence of polemic against the Jerusalem Temple and its priesthood; v) the adherence to an ethical-cosmological dualism; vi) the use of specific and characteristic terms to describe the community⁴ and the events and historical figures that were important to its past; and vii) the view of the community that its very existence constituted the New Temple.

There is a complete lack of correspondence between these distinctive characteristics and what we find preserved in the *NJ*.⁵ Some of the elements cited by LANGE are irrelevant to the *NJ*—the peculiar divine epithets and the emphasis on dualistic theology, for example—while others, like the understanding that the community exists as the New Temple, seems counter to the evidence of the text. There appears to be nothing in the *NJ* that could be said

³ But see now J.C. VANDERKAM: “Another result emerging from a study of the full range of evidence is that more than one calendar is attested at Qumran ... There is no clear indication in the texts that the lunar system was considered inferior to the solar year ...” (*Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (London/New York, 1998), 111).

⁴ One of the most idiosyncratic of all the sectarian doctrines and ideas was the understanding, preserved in some of their texts, that their community itself was Jerusalem. This corporate view is explicit in several texts. In 11QMelchizedek (11Q13) ii 23 the text quotes a portion of Isa 52:7, a victory hymn that announces the reversal of fortune for Zion and that contains many of the elements of the New Jerusalem theme. But “Zion” in 11Q13 is interpreted as “[the congregation of all the sons of justice, those] who establish the covenant, those who avoid walking [on the pa]th of the people” (ii 24). In 4QpIsa^a (4Q164) the connexion is even more explicit. The text interprets Isa 54:11-12, which is the first portion of a long and influential articulation of the hope for a restored Jerusalem (54:11-17) that alludes to the splendour of the new city in terms of precious jewels (see Chapter 2, §3, a). Specifically, it interprets the sapphire foundation-stones of Isaiah as the establishment of the community, the battlements of rubies as “twelve [chiefs of the priests],” and the gates of precious stones as the heads of the tribes of Israel in the last days. This *peshet* to Isaiah 54 speaks of the community as fulfilling in itself the prophecy of New Jerusalem in both the past (the foundation of the community) and the eschatological future (the reference to the last days at 4Q164 line 7). Nothing of this corporate understanding appears in the *NJ*.

⁵ In fact, the most recent studies concur that the *NJ* does not contain the characteristic ideas or expressions evident in the texts that are thought to be products of the sect (GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “New Jerusalem,” 609; CRAWFORD, *The Temple Scroll*, 75).

to be a criticism of the Jerusalem priesthood.⁶ The only element that might provide a point of contact in this area is the reference to the number “twenty-six” at 11Q18 15 4, concerning which GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and TIGCHELAAR remark, “this figure possibly refers to the division of priests.”⁷ For M. KISTER, a figure of twenty-six priestly courses, rather than the twenty-four that was supposedly the norm in the Jerusalem temple of post-exilic times, is in step with what is recorded by the sectarian calendars.⁸ But, as J.C. VANDERKAM observes,⁹ there is doubt that a twenty-six-course priestly rotation was ever in effect at Qumran, and, besides, the number “twenty-six” is as likely in the *NJ* to be part of a measurement of one sort or another as it is to be anything else. There is also no hint in the *NJ* of the presence of a special terminology to refer to the community or to events from its history, and the references that are found within the eschatological sections preserved at 4Q554 2 iii (+ 4Q554 7) and 4Q554 6 and 8 are stereotypical rather than precise. For example, instead of the sort of references to very specific historical figures and events¹⁰ that we witness throughout works like the *pesharim*, the *NJ* employs the standard four-kingdom schema and the bloc “Edom, Moab, and the sons of Ammon,” and uses comparatively indistinct terms like the “kings of the peoples” (4Q554 6) and “the nations” (4Q554 2 iii 22). Finally, there

⁶ The fact that all expressions of the New Jerusalem topos imply a dissatisfaction with the city of Jerusalem is hardly evidence that *NJ*, which envisions a New Jerusalem, was necessarily critical of the Jerusalemite priesthood of the period in which it was composed.

⁷ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII, 330.

⁸ M. KISTER, “Notes on Some New Texts from Qumran,” *JJS* 44 (1993), 282-286 at 284.

⁹ *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 72-73, where twenty-four priestly courses are listed.

¹⁰ That these figures are mentioned in very allusive language (e.g., “the Spouter of Lies” or “the Wicked Priest”) is not important — the fact remains that the figures to whom the titles refer are specific individuals.

is no evidence in the *NJ* of legislative material, sectarian or otherwise.

The only relatively developed theory advocating a sectarian origin for the *NJ* was advanced by GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, although in more recent studies he has clearly retreated from this position.¹¹ In any case, his theory is sharply criticized by FREY, primarily on the grounds of the linguistic characteristics and the manuscript evidence of the *NJ*.¹² One of FREY'S arguments, however, requires further comment. He cites the reference to “[al]l of Israel” at 11Q18 27 1 and “[I]srael” at 11Q18 23 ii 7¹³ as evidence that the *NJ* has a pan-Israelite perspective rather than a specifically sectarian one, specifically in the sense that the eschatological battle that he understands to be the subject of 4Q554 2 iii “shows that the winners [of the battle] ... will be Israel as a whole, not a specifically sectarian group or a holy remnant of the righteous.” We do not need to revisit our arguments against the view that 4Q554 2 iii refers to an eschatological battle, but we also cannot agree with FREY that such references in the *NJ* to “Israel” necessarily indicates a non-sectarian origin. For example, there are many references to Israel (in a positive sense) in the indisputably sectarian *Community Rule*,¹⁴ and in the *Rule of the Congregation* Israel is identified as the focal group in the eschatological age.¹⁵ A pan-Israel perspective might be indicated, though, by the fact

¹¹ As has been previously noted. See Chapter 3, note 76.

¹² FREY, “Contexts,” 808-810. These arguments are i) that the fact that so many copies survived is not in itself a decisive argument for the Qumran origin of the text; ii) the second- or first-century BCE Aramaic in which the text is composed cannot speak to either its Qumranic or non-Qumranic origin; and iii) the fact that Aramaic texts in general contain no specific sectarian terminology indicates that Aramaic texts found at Qumran were likely imports.

¹³ *Pace* GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, DJD XXIII.

¹⁴ *Cf.* 1QS i 22, i 23, iii 24, v 5, v 6, *etc.*

¹⁵ 1QSa i 1-2.

that the city wall of the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* has twelve gates (4Q554 1 i 11 - ii 10), each gate named for one of the twelve tribes of Israel.¹⁶

Another argument against a sectarian provenance for the *NJ* is the fact that it is composed in Aramaic, not Hebrew, and we have earlier remarked that to date there is no evidence to indicate that a Hebrew copy exists.¹⁷ The standard view about the Qumran Aramaic¹⁸ manuscripts in general is that because they contain so few of the distinctly sectarian doctrines,¹⁹ they represent texts that were imported into the community and preserved in the caves.²⁰

¹⁶ See Chapter 3, §4, where we observed that the twelve named gates of the *NJ* stands in contrast to the first column of the *War Scroll*, which limits participation in the army of the Sons of Light to the tribes of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin (1QM i 2). At the same time, it could be that the presence of twelve named gates ought to be considered no more than an architectural design feature of “monumental” New Jerusalems.

¹⁷ See the Introduction, note 4.

¹⁸ It also seems to be the case that most (if not all) of the Aramaic texts were copied at Qumran itself (FITZMYER, “Aramaic,” 50). If this is true, then in our view the relatively large number of copies of the *NJ* and the distribution of these copies among the Dead Sea Caves attests not simply to the *possible* importance of the text, but also to the fact that it was considered important enough to have been copied at Qumran at least seven times.

¹⁹ On the specific terminology of the Qumran texts, see D. DIMANT, “The Qumran Manuscripts,” *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness. Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989-1990* (edd. D. DIMANT and L.H. SCHIFFMAN; STDJ 16; Leiden, 1995), 23-58 at 27-29.

²⁰ So S. SEGERT, “Die Sprachenfragen in der Qumrangemeinschaft,” *Qumran-Probleme* (ed. H. BARDTKE; Berlin, 1963), 315-339; and, more recently, FREY, “Contexts,” 809; J.A. FITZMYER, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins: General Methodological Considerations,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Faith. In Celebration of the Jubilee Year of the Discovery of Qumran Cave 1* (edd. J.H. CHARLESWORTH and W.P. WEAVER; Harrisburg, PA, 1998, 1-19) [= *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (SDSSRL; Cambridge/Grand Rapids, 2000), 1-16 at 8]; and *idem*, “Aramaic,” *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (edd. L.H. SCHIFFMAN and J.C VANDERKAM. Oxford, 2000), 48-51 at 50.

B.Z. WACHOLDER posits that all the Qumran Aramaic texts predate the formation of the Qumran community and were preserved by it because they were part of its “ancestral patrimony,” that is, texts that “anticipated the formation of the sect and its doctrine” (“The Ancient Judaeo-Aramaic Literature (500-164 BCE). A Classification of Pre-Qumranic Texts,” *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. L.H. SCHIFFMAN; JSPP 8, JSOT/ASOR Monographs 2; Sheffield, 1990), 257-281 at 273. It should be noted that WACHOLDER wrote just before the majority of the 4Q Aramaic texts emerged in the public eye).

One Aramaic text, however, that seems to preserve dualistic ideas is 4Q548 (4QVisions of

Yet the fact that seven copies of the *NJ* were discovered among five separate caves likely attests to its popularity with the Dead Sea sectarians. If we restrict our study to the numbers of the Aramaic documents at Qumran, we observe that, with respect to the Enochic literature,²¹ seven copies survive of *1 Enoch*,²² four copies of the *Astronomical Book*, and nine copies of the *Book of Giants*.²³ With respect to the proto-Esther texts, six copies of these survive.²⁴ These Aramaic texts are the exceptions, however, rather than the rule. In fact, most of the Qumran Aramaic documents — the bulk of which were recovered from Cave 4 and are classified under the *sigla* 4Q529 to 4Q575 — are preserved uniquely or in two or three copies at most. Perhaps more importantly, none of the Qumran Aramaic texts (and, indeed, very few of the Hebrew ones) has the same breadth of distribution among the eleven Dead Sea caves as does the *NJ*.²⁵ Of the Qumran Aramaic texts just cited, all the *1 Enoch* fragments are from Cave 4, as are all the copies of both the *Astronomical Book* and the proto-Esther texts. Only the *Book of Giants* was recovered in caves other than Cave 4;

Amram(?)), where in fragments 1 and 2 i we find reference to the two ways and terms like בני חשוכא (4Q548 1 11, 13, 16).

²¹ The relationship of these texts to each other and the question of what sort(s) of Enochic literature may have been available to the Qumran community is very complex, and one that cannot be resolved here.

²² Note also that É. PUECH has recently identified Greek portions of *1 Enoch* in six copies among the Cave 7 fragments (“Notes sur les fragments grecs du manuscrit 7Q4 = 1 Hénoch 103 et 105,” *RB* 103 (1996), 592-600; “Sept fragments de la Lettre d’Hénoch (1 Hén 100, 103 et 105) dans la grotte 7 de Qumrân (= 7QHén gr),” *RevQ* 19 (1997-1998), 313-323). 4Q247 might also be a copy of the *Apocalypse of Weeks*.

²³ There as yet appears to be no definite list as to what is or is not part of the *Book of Giants*. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ/TIGCHELAAR, *DSSSE*, 1335, list eight copies, plus the 6Q copy on page 1347. But see L.T. STUCKENBRUCK, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen, 1997), who lists ten copies of the *Giants*.

²⁴ 4Q550 and 4Q550a-e.

²⁵ STEGEMANN, *The Library of Qumran. On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge, 1998 [German orig. 1993], 99).

Giants was found in four caves in total, as compared to the five caves in which copies of the *NJ* were found.²⁶

Whether the popularity of the *NJ* among the sectarians also means that it was particularly important to them is another matter. For H. STEGEMANN, however, there is no question of this fact. He argues that the Cave 1 texts were the “most important” texts of the community, and that they were purposefully collected and deposited in this cave a short time after June of 68 CE, when the sectarians first became aware that the Roman legions were only a very short distance away and were planning to march on Khirbet Qumran.²⁷ If STEGEMANN is correct, the fact that a copy of the *NJ* was discovered in Cave 1 would indicate that it, like the *War Scroll*, the *Hodayot*, the *Community Rule*, and the other Cave 1 texts both sectarian and non-sectarian, was one of those texts that the community valued most. Therefore, we have in the *NJ* a document that probably meant a great deal to the Qumran community, but that was not composed by the community.

In Chapter 3 we demonstrated that there were few specific points of contact between the *NJ* and other Dead Sea texts, sectarian or otherwise. At the same time, however, the hope for the New Jerusalem as expressed by the *NJ* might have had a place within the broad sectarian perspective towards the historical Jerusalem. In Chapter 2 (§2, d) we remarked that

²⁶ The problem with a quantitative analysis is that any argument based either on the number of extant copies of a text or on their distribution among the caves is not in itself decisive (so GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Future Temple,” 202; FREY, “Contexts,” 808). For instance, we only have to look to the *Peshar Habbakuk* to find an example of an indisputably sectarian text of which only one copy survives. At the same time, the fact that the *NJ* survives in *comparatively* so many copies and that these copies were dispersed among *comparatively* so many caves might suggest, rather than demonstrate, that the *NJ* enjoyed a certain measure of popularity among the sectarians. Note also GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “New Jerusalem,” 609: “The variety of copies and their distribution in several caves attest to the work’s popularity at Qumran.”

²⁷ STEGEMANN, *The Library of Qumran*, 61.

every articulation of the New Jerusalem topos in the literature essentially assumes a dissatisfaction with what to their authors is the present state of the historical city. Sometimes this dissatisfaction is a result of the city's having been physically destroyed or, after a period in which it was rebuilt, its appearing comparatively shabby and insignificant, and not at all like the idealized city of a romanticized past or the ideal city of a utopian future.²⁸ Sometimes, too, the dissatisfaction with the present state of the city in the expressions of the topos seems rooted less in the city's physical appearance and more in its socio-political situation — the actions and laws of political and religious leaders, the behavior of the population, or the presence of oppressive foreigners.

This general sort of dissatisfaction would not have been too far out of step with what the members of the Qumran community felt towards the Jerusalem of their time. As L. SCHIFFMAN explains, the sectarians, while affirming many of the traditional attitudes toward Jerusalem as a historical entity — the belief of the centrality and the holiness of the city, the view that it was a fit subject for which prayers may be offered and to which praise may be directed, and so on — nevertheless clearly understood the Jerusalem of their own time as something that had been corrupted and rendered unfit in its present state.²⁹ The same was true of their understanding of the Temple, the site of the divine presence, which too had been polluted by the current priesthood. The *NJ* would not have been at odds with any of this

²⁸ See, especially, Chapter 2, §3, a-c.

²⁹ See L.H. SCHIFFMAN, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York, 1994), 385-394. [expanded version = "Jerusalem in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *The Centrality of Jerusalem. Historical Perspectives* (ed. M. POORTHUIS and Ch. SAFRAI; Kampen, 1996), 73-88] and the sources he cites. SCHIFFMAN identifies the references to the Jerusalem of history and of religious law and discusses the evidence of the Qumran attitudes in these areas. He argues that Jerusalem was the place for specific and rigorous requirements regarding the Temple and its operation, "the place where the divine presence was supposed to dwell," but that the community understood both the present-day city and sanctuary to be polluted.

perspective, even though it exhibits none of the sectarian attitudes identified specifically by LANGE. The *NJ* was an articulation of the New Jerusalem, an eschatological city that was magnificent and full of splendour and that contained a proper Temple complex at its heart, all of which was unlike the Jerusalem and Temple of the sectarians' day. The *NJ* might not have reflected the precise sectarian blueprint³⁰ for the eschatological remedy to their dilemma with the rulers and priests of the Jerusalem of their day, but it probably was not too

³⁰ One striking idea found in some texts was that the Qumran community could be understood metaphorically as the New Temple (for a fuller discussion, see B. GÄRTNER, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament* (Cambridge, 1965), 27-29, and, for the idea of the community as Temple, 16-46). In the *Community Rule*, for example, there is reference to a doctrine that the offering of prayer was to replace the Temple offerings and sacrifices "in order to atone for the fault of the transgression and for the guilt of sin and for the approval for the earth" (1QS ix 3-4). Moreover, the community itself was set apart "like a holy house for Aaron" (1QS ix 6). In a recent article G.J. BROOKE has examined the first fragment of 4Q500 in the context of its allegorical character ("4Q500 and the Use of Scripture in the Parable of the Lord's Vineyard," *DSD* 2 (1995), 268-294). The text, which is a blessing that is addressed to God (so J.M. BAUMGARTEN, "4Q500 and the Lord's Vineyard," *JJS* 40 (1989), 1-6), contains the allegorical interpretation of Isaiah 5 wherein the vineyard of 5:2 is taken to refer to "Israel in miniature, Jerusalem and its temple and all that takes place on the altar." In the *Community Rule*, too, the Community council is likened to this everlasting plantation and a "holy house for Israel," and a house of truth and perfection (1QS viii 4-10). In the *Hodayot*, too, we encounter this conception of an eternal planting in a setting of a dry, lifeless desert where by God's favour waters flows in canals and the living waters gush up to give life to the garden (1QH^a xvi 4-10). Several New Jerusalem themes are woven into this image, including the ideas of paradise and Gan Eden and the element of the water as the life-giving source that flows through the desert (cf. Ezek 47:1-12). The everlasting plantation is seen also at 1QH^a xiv 15-16, and again in the context of New Jerusalem imagery: reference to a return of peoples (xiv 14) and the life-giving waters of Eden (xiv 16), and a detailed metaphor describing how the author of the Hymn likens his relationship to God's truth to a weary sojourner who enters a fortified city, whose foundations and beams are steady and secure, and whose walls and gates are armoured and massive (xiv 25-28). Again there is this sense that the text refers to both the present and the future — the plantation has taken root and the author has already experienced God's truth, but the image develops into an eschatological scenario (cf. the "era of judgment" of xiv 29), where the architectural vocabulary is re-employed in the service of a description of a final war (xiv 29-33).

How the ideas of a corporate New Jerusalem or the community as the Temple are to be understood with reference to the *NJ*, or indeed, to any of the sectarian texts that envision a discrete architectural New Jerusalem and/or New Temple is unclear. Perhaps this involved a type of realized eschatology, not necessarily of the type we see with Paul and his New Jerusalem as mother church (Gal 4:26), which appears to be one entity existing in both the present and the future, but rather more along the lines of the Temple Scroll, wherein there is one New Temple that will at the end of days be supplanted by the final Temple that is created or constructed by God.

far out of step either.³¹

2. *The Origin and Purpose of the NJ*

The questions of the date of composition and the provenance of the *NJ* are particularly vexing. The text contains no allusions to figures or events that may be dated by reference to definite historical situations. It cannot be dated confidently with reference to the history of urban architectural design in the ancient world, as was demonstrated in Chapter 2 (§6). Its “monumental” type of New Jerusalem, as we also described in Chapter 2 (§2, b), is neither peculiar to one historical period nor typical of one point in the development of the New Jerusalem topos. Some scholars have advanced dates with the support of the supposed connexions between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*,³² but in Chapter 3 (§2, b) we called into question both the existence of such connexions and the attempts to draw conclusions of

³¹ These sentiments are too general to be used to determine a text’s provenance. In other words, to ask what sort of non-sectarian group or sentiment produced a text like the *NJ* that exhibited this general sort of dissatisfaction with the historical Jerusalem would be futile — the dissatisfaction is as much a part of Ezekiel 40-48 as it is the *Temple Scroll* or Revelation 21-22.

³² Partly on the basis of his studies of the architectural contexts (see above, §2), BROSHI suggests a date of *circa* 200 BCE for the composition of the *NJ*, “two or three generations before” the *Temple Scroll*. He argues that while the *NJ* details both city and temple, the *Temple Scroll* is concerned only with the image of the proper Temple, a concern spawned by an aversion to the existing Temple that could only have been manifested as a result of the “extreme anti-Hasmonean feelings typical of the Qumran sect” (BROSHI, “Architecture,” 22).

This argument depends on many things, not least of which is a Hasmonaean date for the *Temple Scroll*. This may be the case, although many different dates have been advanced for the *Temple Scroll*, from the Persian period to the first century BCE. On these theories, see (most recently) CRAWFORD, *Temple Scroll*, 24; GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 630; *idem*, “Temple Scroll,” 442-445. FREY states that “there seems to be a growing consensus to regard the *Temple Scroll* as a text which precedes the Essene movement and comes from priestly or levitical circles presumably in the 3rd or early 2nd century BCE” (“Contexts,” 807, note 39).

In addition, as we explored in Chapter 2, a fundamental dissatisfaction with the existing Temple or the existing Jerusalem is very much a hallmark of many expressions of the topos, and it is just as likely, using BROSHI’s argument, that the *NJ* could also have been an articulation of this “anti-Hasmonean feeling.”

Note also WISE, *Temple Scroll*, 86, who on the basis of its relationship with the “Temple Source,” proposes a third-century date for the *NJ*.

primacy or dependence based on them. Other scholars, recognizing the difficulties in dating the *NJ*, have refused to speculate, remarking that all suggested dates remain unprovable,³³ or simply propose a date of composition for the *NJ*, usually in the second century BCE,³⁴ with little or no comment.³⁵

In our opinion, however, there is enough evidence to suggest a theory of the origin and purpose of the *NJ* that does not need to rely on parallels between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* or between the *NJ* and the architectural canons of other ancient cultures.

- There is little consensus regarding what the language of the *NJ* can reveal about the date and circumstances of its composition.³⁶ E. Y. KUTSCHER, who did not have access to all the Dead Sea texts, likens the Aramaic of the *NJ* to that of the Genesis Apocryphon, with both texts being representative of a transitory phase between *Reichsaramäisch* and Middle Aramaic, a period that he dates approximately from the first century BCE to the first century CE (with a second century BCE date not impossible).³⁷ F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, however, asserts that the composition of the *NJ* likely predates the establishment of the Qumran community and notes that linguistic analysis suggests a date somewhere around the third or second centuries BCE, with the first half of the second century the most

³³ FREY, "Contexts," 812.

³⁴ A notable exception is STEGEMANN, who simply writes, "Probably it [the *NJ*] is one of those Aramaic apocalypses that — like the Astronomical Book and the Book of the Watchers — appeared in the fourth or third century before Christ" (*Library of Qumran*, 99).

³⁵ E.g., WISE, "New Jerusalem Texts," 742; GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "Temple Scroll," *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 610.

³⁶ We confess that we do not have the linguistic expertise by which we might evaluate these claims, and so list them here simply in order to provide further context by which we might better understand the *NJ*.

³⁷ "The Language of the Genesis Apocryphon," (*ScrHier* 4; Jerusalem, 1957), 6, 15.

“reasonable” choice.³⁸ Following MILIK, GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ adds that the analysis of the spelling and grammar of the *NJ* suggests a date slightly later than Daniel.³⁹ Perhaps the most detailed proposal concerning the language and date of composition of the *NJ* is that of M.O. WISE, who postulates that Aramaic was the choice of language of the *NJ* because in the first half of the second century BCE Aramaic would have been better understood by more persons outside of Judaea proper.⁴⁰ Even though WISE understands the *NJ* to have originated in priestly circles (an issue to which we will shortly return), he argues that the reason it was written in Aramaic was a “conscious decision” by its author to obtain a broader support for its pro-priestly programmes among Diaspora Jews. The difficulty with WISE’S theory is that his argument is difficult to prove or refute, since it is essentially based only on the fact that Aramaic was the *lingua franca* of the Ancient Near East in the Persian period and survived as a common language throughout the remainder of antiquity.

To be fair, a text’s linguistic characteristics cannot alone establish the date of composition. Despite the lack of consensus, however, the linguistic evidence would seem to rule out a *terminus a quo* that is much earlier than Daniel (*i.e.*, not before the last decades of the third century or the first decades of the second century BCE). The *terminus ad quem*, of course, is 66-70 CE.

- As for what the language of the *NJ* can tell us about its possible provenance, J.A. FITZMYER notes that all of the Qumran Aramaic texts are written in Palestinian Aramaic, a

³⁸ GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “New Jerusalem,” 610.

³⁹ MILIK, DJD III, 184; GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” 456.

⁴⁰ WISE, *Temple Scroll*, 85-86.

type of Middle Aramaic that is characteristic of this area and that is not found in the areas where the remains of other types of Aramaic are extant.⁴¹ We cannot agree with CRAWFORD, though, that the *NJ* was of Palestinian rather than Diaspora Jewish origin simply on the basis that it was composed in Aramaic.⁴² The use of Aramaic in Diaspora Judaism is well-attested, for example, in the Elephantine papyri and other sources outside Palestine proper.

- In Chapter 3 (§4) we argued that the bloc “Edom, Moab, and Ammon” might have had a general eschatological significance in the three texts (4Q554 2 iii (+ 4Q554 7), Daniel 11, and 1QM i) in which these nations appear in this order in an eschatological context. It could be that Dan 11:41 is the original source of a later understanding that there is a special reason why in the last days Edom, Moab, and Ammon need to be taken as a single unit, an understanding that resurfaces in the reference to these three nations in the eschatological expectations of the *NJ* and of the *War Scroll*. If this is the case, then the *NJ* was composed in a period between 160 BCE (the latest date for Dan 11:40-46)⁴³ and the Herodian period in which the surviving copies of the *NJ* were made.

It is also possible, however, that the idea of a special significance to these three nations in the last days predates Dan 11:41. The setting of Dan 11:40-46 is clearly eschatological and the function or significance of the bloc “Edom, Moab, and Ammon” within the action of this passage is very unclear, with nothing in the way of explanation or context. This fact leads one to conclude tentatively that perhaps the significance of this bloc

⁴¹ FITZMYER, “Aramaic,” 50.

⁴² *Contra* CRAWFORD, *The Temple Scroll*, 75.

⁴³ That is, based on the historical allusions of the review of history preserved at Daniel 11:1-39.

of nations was meant to have been implicitly understood by the readers of Daniel 11. If this were the case and the eschatological significance of the bloc predates its appearance in Daniel, then the references to the bloc in the *NJ*, Daniel 11, and the *War Scroll* would be three expressions of an older, unknown tradition that emerged sometime before the Maccabean Revolt and that assigned some eschatological import to these three nations. In this scenario, the *NJ* need not depend on Dan 11:41 and could conceivably date from a period slightly before the age of Antiochus Epiphanes.

- In fact, there are a number of parallels between the *NJ* and the book of Daniel beyond the shared concern with the eschatological use of the bloc “Edom, Moab, and Ammon.” Both texts are written in Aramaic (Daniel at least partially), both emphasize the role of the seer who experiences a vision or dream, and both relate the dream or vision to the reader as it is interpreted by an angelic mediator.⁴⁴ In addition, both Daniel and the *NJ* are concerned with the idea of “the end” and both periodize history by means of a four-kingdom schema (on which, see below).

- The fact that the bloc “Edom, Moab, and Ammon” appears in the *War Scroll* might also be important beyond the fact that it shares this peculiarity with the *NJ* and Daniel 11. The *War Scroll* is a text whose core elements were also a product of the same historical circumstances that produced the book of Daniel, “but [were] composed in another circle of transmission.”⁴⁵ Possibly the same might be said for the *NJ* as well.

- The reason why an early or mid- second century date of composition for the *NJ*

⁴⁴ See our comments in Chapter 2, §5, where we discuss the issue of the *NJ* and genre.

⁴⁵ STEGEMANN, *Library of Qumran*, 102. See also P.R. DAVIES, *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran. Its Structure and History* (BibOr 32; Roma, 1977), 123.

could be important is that our reconstruction of מלכות מן־די in 4Q554 2 iii 15 suggests that the *NJ* was written well before the Herodian-era date when all the extant copies of the text were made. The argument here centers on the four-kingdom schema, which, as we noted in Chapter 3 (§3, b, iv), underwent roster changes as time passed. The original articulations of the four-kingdom schema, including its first Jewish expressions,⁴⁶ imply the order Babylon, Media, and Persia, with Greece as the fourth and last kingdom before the eschatological age.⁴⁷ As time passed and Greek/Hellenistic sovereignty passed to Rome (and the eschaton failed to materialize), the expectation of the final kingdom before the end was transferred to Rome, which either became the fifth (and last) kingdom⁴⁸ or assumed the place of the fourth kingdom (and last) kingdom.⁴⁹ In the latter case the original order of the four kingdoms was changed in order to make room for Rome, an alteration that seems to have involved incorporating Media into Persia as the second kingdom and moving Greece from the final to the penultimate position.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Daniel 2 and Daniel 7, for certain; very probably *SibOr* 4 in its original form, before Rome was added (see FLUSSER, “Four Empires,” 150).

⁴⁷ The literature that touches on this issue is immense, mainly centering on the identification of the kingdoms in Daniel 2 (see note 121, above).

⁴⁸ As we see in the present version of *SibOr* 4.

⁴⁹ See 2 *Baruch* 36-30. The classic case is the Eagle Vision of 4 *Ezra* 11-12, where the angelic interpreter tells Ezra the seer that the interpretation of fourth beast of Daniel 7 is not the same that he will now give Ezra. The original oracle of the Eagle Vision surely dates to the period of Domitian, and it, too, was subsequently updated in the early third century CE (see L. DiTOMMASO, “Dating the Eagle Vision of 4 *Ezra*: A New Look at an Old Theory,” *JSP* 20 (1999), 3-38).

⁵⁰ So Josephus (*Ant.*, 10.203-210 at 208-209), commenting on the four empires of Daniel 2, where the “two kings” of the second kingdom represents the dual kingship of Media and Persia and a “king from the west” must allude to none other than Alexander. We do not know if this schema was in the minds of the authors of the Eagle Vision or 2 *Baruch* (see previous note), but it seems reasonable.

See also H. STEGEMANN on the Essenes’ changing interpretation of Daniel: “...it became clear that Roman rule over Palestine was not to be a short-term episode of a few years, but, obviously, one of longer

The relevance of this discussion to this study of the date of the composition of the *NJ* is that if our reading of מלכות מדי in the second position in the kingdom-list of the 4Q554 2 iii is correct, it might mean that the third kingdom was then Persia, and the “Kittim” in the final position was Greece.⁵¹ As a result, this could mean that the *NJ* was composed in a period when Media and Persia were still considered separate kingdoms in the schema and when Rome had yet to be taken into account. Although this does not provide a precise date, it might suggest a time of composition well before the Herodian era and perhaps closer to the date of Daniel 2, at a time before the fourth kingdom came to be associated with the Romans.⁵²

- Even if we do not accept DIMANT’S argument that 4Q391 is part of the composition known as *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, we have evidence in 4Q391 of a middle to late second-century interest in reworking the material of Ezekiel 40-48. The *NJ* might also be part of such an interest.

duration. And so the Essenes arrived at a new understanding of the book of Daniel. Now they interpreted the fourth and last empire as the *Imperium Romanum*, whose further duration was perhaps at first open-ended” (*The Library of Qumran. On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge, 1998 [German orig. 1993]), 133.

⁵¹ For details, see our reconstruction of the text in Chapter 1.

⁵² On the other hand, having detailed the existence of a point of contact between the *NJ* and Dan 11:41 in the matter of the nations Edom, Moab, and Ammon, we would be remiss not to point out that in the review of history at Dan 11:30 the “Kittim” are without a doubt the Romans. Thus, we may have evidence that by the late 160s BCE the Romans were called the “Kittim” and in a text that might have some bearing on the *NJ*.

This is probably a circumstantial point, however, in that the context of the “Kittim” in the four-empire schema (where the extent of Roman power at the time was very much an indirect one, limited to a few key battles and the exercise of diplomatic foreign-policy actions, without any permanent presence in the Greek East) is not exactly the same as the use of the title in a geographic sense (*i.e.*, that all peoples who came from the sea to the west were generically called the “Kittim”). Note also COLLINS, *Apocalypticism*, 107, who notes that the reference to the “Kittim of Assur” and the “Kittim in Egypt” in the first column of the *War Scroll* (which, he argues, surely postdates Daniel) need not refer to the Romans at all; in fact, the argument that it refers to the Seleucids and the Ptolemies (*viz.*, Greek kingdoms) “does not require a date any earlier than the middle of the first century BCE” (*i.e.*, only after the beginning of a direct Roman presence in the Middle East).

If, therefore, we accept that there are connexions between the *NJ* and certain portions of the Daniel literature that date from the Maccabaeen or early Hasmonaeen periods, that there might have been an increased interest in Ezekiel 40-48 towards the middle or end of the second century BCE, and that the linguistic evidence allows a second-century BCE date, we might return to the point made earlier concerning an appropriate historical context by which we might situate the *NJ*. While FREY is correct in stating that the presence of utopian concepts in a text like the *NJ* need not have resulted from a major crisis,⁵³ we now possess several clues to suggest a second-century date. If we accept this date for the moment and search for an appropriate historical context, it is clear that Jerusalem experienced several major crises in this period, the most important of which were i) the occupation of the city and cessation of the cultic activities by Antiochus Epiphanes and ii) the gaining of the royal and high priestly power by the Hasmonaeen house. Both crises had many and diverse effects on different portions of the population (and very probably contributed greatly to the formation of the Qumran community) and both could have easily precipitated the sort of dissatisfaction with the present situation that is found at the heart of every expression of the New Jerusalem topos and also the eschatological forecasting of the sort that we witness in the *NJ* and 4Q391.

FREY argues that the similarity of houses in the *NJ* (indicating no distinction between rich and poor) and the lack of interest in the special privileges of Levites or priests means that the *NJ* is “a utopian reaction to the social differences which divided Israel throughout

⁵³ FREY, “Contexts,” 811, note 63.

the Hellenistic period and inspired various apocalyptic concepts.”⁵⁴ While FREY’S point about the uniform design of the houses is intriguing and one that would certainly fit the date and historical situation that we have proposed for the composition of the *NJ*, it should be recognized that it is essentially *ex silentio*, since so much of the portion of the *NJ* that describes the Temple operation simply does not survive. Other scholars more correctly understand that the interest of the *NJ* in Temple and cultic matters demonstrates that the text originated in priestly circles.⁵⁵

This series of arguments leads directly into the questions of the purpose of the *NJ* and the issue of its place at Qumran. The fact that the *NJ* was copied so many times and preserved in so many caves — including the all-important Cave 1 — might suggest its significance to the Qumran sectarians. Also, all seven preserved copies of the *NJ* may be dated palaeographically to the Herodian period.⁵⁶ To be sure, this phenomenon might simply be a result of the hand of fate — older copies of the *NJ* once existed but for whatever reason did not survive. At the same time, though, and assuming our second century BCE date of composition is correct, we might posit that in the Herodian age perhaps for some reason the *NJ* either again became especially important to the community (assuming that they had been aware of it for all this time) or was at this point first introduced to the community and subsequently copied many times by the sectarians.⁵⁷ Could this possible late-first-century

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 811-812.

⁵⁵ WISE, “New Jerusalem Texts,” 743; GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Temple Scroll,” 457.

⁵⁶ See the Introduction, note 8.

⁵⁷ The comparatively high number of Herodian-era copies might be, as STEGEMANN posits, a manifestation of a general renewal of eschatological interest among the sectarians that occurred during this period (*Library of Qumran*, 205-206 (cf. 133)). It also could be suggested that the distinct lack of influence

sectarian interest in the *NJ* have been a reaction against the Herod's rebuilding programme that involved the Temple and other structures in and around Jerusalem?

Whatever the circumstances were that led to its being preserved in Herodian-era copies only, the *NJ* was more likely a product of the same troubled second-century circumstances that not only produced a wealth and variety of literature, including the book of Daniel and perhaps the first version of what would become the *War Scroll*, but also sparked the beginning and contributed to the development of the sectarian movement itself. Moreover, it is possible that both the *NJ* and the Qumran community originated from priestly dissatisfaction with the political and social exigencies of the time, although of course we cannot state that they were both the products of precisely the *same* dissatisfaction. Whatever the specific precipitating factors, the most likely purpose of the earthly⁵⁸ New Jerusalem of the *NJ* was not one-dimensional, either as a base of operations for an end-time war or as a locus for pilgrims in the eschatological age, but instead the city was meant to function as a New Jerusalem in a complete sense, that is, as the future city of the people of God and site of the New Temple. The fact that it stemmed from a common historical circumstance probably accounts for the general similarity in its points of contact with the other Qumran texts and the sectarian perspective, especially with respect to their views on the historical Jerusalem and their eschatological expectations.

The latter point is particularly important when we consider the general points of correspondence between the *NJ* and sectarian expectations regarding the periodization of

the *NJ* appears to have had on other Dead Sea texts might argue for its being a relatively late addition to the Qumran library, although this is technically an argument *ex silentio*.

⁵⁸ See our conclusions in Chapter 2, §4..

history, the ideas of “the end,” and an anticipation, at least in some of the texts we examined, of a New Jerusalem playing a significant role in the end-time. We should also consider the ideas of A. STEUDEL, who, on the basis of an argument first outlined by STEGEMANN, posits that there was a conception of the collective “eschatological reign of the people of God” that appeared to come into vogue during the period of the Maccabees in certain priestly and non-priestly circles.⁵⁹ This conception is expressed in (among other texts) the opening column of 1QM, *i.e.*, the same place that also refers to the bloc “Edom, Moab, and Ammon,” to the Kittim, and to the existence of an eschatological New Jerusalem. Although there is no direct evidence that the *NJ* contained this Maccabean-era concept, the very nature of the New Jerusalem topos assumes a future-time power and prosperity for the population. In other words, it is, by definition, a *collective* expectation. This is especially true with respect to the “monumental” versions of the topos, which, as we demonstrated in Chapter 2 (§2, b), tend to concentrate on the layout of the city and thus, by implication, on the ways that the basic reversal of fortune would affect the population historically, economically, socially, and politically.

In conclusion, the *NJ* in all probability represents one of many literary responses to the series of political, social, and religious crises that were so much a part of the middle decades of the second century BCE. Composed in Aramaic for some unknown reason, it describes an ideal future time beyond the periods of the kingdoms of the world, a time when Jerusalem would again be strong (the nations having been humbled), at peace, and the centre of the world. In these expectations the *NJ* echoes many of the common elements of other

⁵⁹ A. STEUDEL, “The Eternal Reign of the People of God — Collective Expectations in Qumran Texts (4Q246 and 1QM),” *RevQ* 17 (1996), 507-525. The brief quotation is from page 524.

articulations of the New Jerusalem topos. Introduced into the Qumran community perhaps a century or more after its composition, the *NJ* was clearly valued by its members. Although it bore little specific correspondence with other texts, and even though it certainly seems to have made no impact on the conceptions and expectations of the sectarians, the *NJ* nevertheless would not have been out of place with respect to the general eschatological anticipations of the Qumran community.

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